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# Visiting or Here to Stay? How framing multiculturalism in different ways changes attitudes and inclusion of ethnic minorities in the United States

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VISITING OR HERE TO STAY?  
HOW FRAMING MULTICULTURALISM IN DIFFERENT WAYS CHANGES ATTITUDES  
AND INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation Presented

by

MELISSA MCMANUS SCIRCLE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2013

Department of Psychology

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## ABSTRACT

VISITING OR HERE TO STAY? HOW FRAMING MULTICULTURALISM IN DIFFERENT WAYS  
CHANGES ATTITUDES AND INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 2013

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Three experiments explored the way in which different framings of multiculturalism influence White American perceivers' attitudes towards ethnic minorities and inclusion of them in the national group. Results showed that while participants always preferred Whites to ethnic minorities, the difference in liking was largest when multiculturalism was described as permanent and Whites were present (vs. absent) in that description. In contrast, differences in liking did not vary by the role of Whites when multiculturalism was described as temporary (Studies 1 and 2). Second, Whites were always seen as more American than ethnic minorities, but particularly when Whites were present (vs. absent) in the description of multiculturalism regardless of the temporal framing (Studies 1 and 2). Third, participants experienced a greater need to affirm the White status quo when multiculturalism was described as permanent and Whites were present (vs. absent) in the description (Study 2). Finally, bias against ethnic minorities was greatest when the description of multiculturalism affirmed the primacy of White heritage in the definition of the nation. Overall findings suggest that *not* explicitly including the majority group in multiculturalism may lead to better relations between them and minority groups.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Historically, social psychological research on prejudice has focused on social categorization as a precursor of prejudice. As a result, past research has focused on how categorization might be eliminated (i.e., decategorization) or reframed (i.e., recategorization) in order to improve intergroup relationships and reduce prejudice against outgroups. One type of recategorization strategy is *multiculturalism*, a contemporary belief system that requires individuals to value and respect distinctions between in- and outgroup members while at the same time keeping a common superordinate identity in mind—this superordinate identity may be a shared national group (Park & Judd, 2005). Multiculturalism posits that ethnic group memberships should be acknowledged and celebrated as part of an individual's multiple social identities (Plaut, 2002; Scott, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005).

Although multiculturalism as a recategorization strategy ought to improve intergroup relations, empirical support for this hypothesis is mixed. Previous research shows that multiculturalism sometimes has positive effects (e.g., when thinking about multiculturalism, majority group members display less prejudice toward ethnic minority groups at both explicit and implicit levels (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gaudet, 2011)), but can also have negative effects (e.g. when thinking about multiculturalism, majority group members display more stereotypes of minorities (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000) and feel that their ingroup is being excluded (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011)). Moreover, some effects of multiculturalism are still unknown: It is unclear how making Whites feel included vs. excluded in multiculturalism might impact White individuals' attitudes towards ethnic minorities. It is additionally unclear how multiculturalism may influence majority group members' inclusion of ethnic minorities within their national group. More generally, how can multiculturalism have both positive and negative effects? Is it possible to reconcile these opposing outcomes?

The overarching purpose of my dissertation was to reconcile the above-mentioned mixed findings by identifying whether different framings of multiculturalism have a differential effect on majority group members' attitudes toward ethnic minorities and their willingness to include them as legitimate citizens of their national group. Two broad goals guided the current research. First, I examined whether (a) manipulating the role of Whites in multiculturalism (by explicitly including them in a description of multiculturalism or not) and (b) manipulating the temporal framings of multiculturalism (as a temporary experience of ethnic minority group's cultural traditions or the permanent integration of ethnic minorities in the U.S.) have different effects on White individuals' attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Second, I sought to identify the underlying psychological mechanisms that drive these effects by testing whether motivation to affirm the White American status quo and heritage influences people's attitudes toward, and inclusion of ethnic minorities in the nation.

### **Social Categorization**

One of the causes of intergroup bias is social categorization, a spontaneously occurring cognitive process. Categorization leads perceivers to notice the distinction between groups that include the self (the ingroup) versus groups of other people which don't include the self (the outgroups), which creates an "us" versus "them" mentality (see Social Identity Theory, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Self-Categorization Theory, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), and can lead to stereotyping and prejudice. One potential way to decrease prejudice and stereotyping as well as improve intergroup relations is to change the way that individuals categorize others.

### **Using Decategorization to reduce prejudice**

Decategorization suggests that if members of two different groups see themselves (and each other) as individuals rather than members of groups (Wilder, 1986) or have personalized interactions to get to know each other on an individual (vs. group) level (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998),

the validity of outgroup stereotypes will be weakened, thus reducing intergroup bias (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller, Brewer, & Edwards, 1985). One popular decategorization strategy in contemporary American culture is colorblindness, which advocates that group members should be viewed as individuals rather than as group members (Hahn et al., 2010). However, although decategorization assumes that prejudice and category differentiation (i.e., the extent to which two groups are seen as different from each other) are positively correlated—less category differentiation is correlated with less prejudice—empirical research does not support this assumption (Park & Judd, 2005; Wolsko et al., 2000). Furthermore, eliminating category boundaries may be unrealistic and even unproductive because valued group membership can promote a positive sense of self for group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Since decategorization may not be feasible and has potentially negative effects, researchers have come up with an alternative option: *recategorizing* group members into a *common* group in order to reduce or eliminate intergroup bias.

### **Using Recategorization to reduce prejudice**

Two dominant theories discuss how to recategorize ingroup and outgroup members effectively to enhance intergroup attitudes and relations. Perhaps the most well-known is the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which proposes that intergroup biases can be reduced when group members recategorize themselves into a superordinate group (e.g., White and Black Americans can see themselves as all being Americans instead of members of their respective ethnic groups). By seeing themselves as a single inclusive group instead of two completely separate groups, attitudes towards former outgroup members are predicted to become more positive since they are now ingroup members. Over two dozen empirical studies support this one-group recategorization perspective (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, for a review). For example, Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, and Ward (2001) found that when White participants interacted with a Black confederate as either teammates or separate individuals without a common group connection, participants' evaluations of the Black confederate (a racial outgroup

member) were more positive when they were teammates versus separate individuals. Just as decategorization is undesirable because it ignores group membership entirely, however, the Common Ingroup Identity Model may also be less than ideal as it minimizes the importance of subordinate social categories.

Instead of focusing on similarities and minimizing differences between the ingroup and the outgroup like the one-group recategorization model, another popular recategorization model, the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986), encourages groups to *emphasize* their distinctiveness from other groups but in the context of cooperating with each other. A key difference between this model and the Common Ingroup Identity Model is that it allows perceivers to recategorize group members into a superordinate group without reducing the salience of subordinate social categories. The goal is a win-win cooperative relationship that can lead to mutually favorable feelings and stereotypes towards members of the other group while emphasizing the positive distinctiveness of each group. For example, Deschamps and Brown (1983) found that when two groups worked *separately* (maintaining different and non-comparable roles) *but cooperatively* on a joint project, group members' attitudes towards the outgroup were more favorable than when the groups had identical roles. Other work (Brown, Vivian, Hewston, 1999; Ensari & Miller, 2002) has also demonstrated that heightened membership salience during cooperative intergroup contact leads to more positive attitudes towards the outgroup. Finally, Hornsey and Hogg (2000) demonstrated that salience of both superordinate and subordinate category membership led to the least amount of bias towards the outgroup whereas the most bias occurred when just the superordinate category was made salient. In other words, the mutual differentiation model works, but it is important that the distinctiveness of each group remain salient. It is also important to emphasize that the two groups are working cooperatively on a larger project – thus these two separate groups have a superordinate commonality while maintaining their group distinctiveness.

A third example of recategorization (e.g., multiculturalism) combines the superordinate

group aspect of the Common Ingroup Identity Model while maintaining group distinctiveness which is an aspect of the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation model. *Multiculturalism* recategorizes groups by orienting perceivers to focus on each group's distinctive characteristics while at the same time acknowledging a shared identity in a superordinate group with common goals (Park & Judd, 2005). The superordinate group could be a multicultural organization or a multicultural nation. In the current research, I focused on multiculturalism wherein the superordinate group was citizenship in a shared nation (specifically the United States).

### **Multiculturalism: Reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations through mutual differentiation while emphasizing common superordinate identity**

Multiculturalism combines the aforementioned recategorization theories as it takes the stance that the viewpoints of different ethnicities and cultures, both different and similar, are important and deserve recognition. It values differences between cultures and sees them as enriching (Hahn et al., 2010). The assumption of multiculturalism is that acknowledging and appreciating these differences can improve interethnic relationships (Scott, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005). Proponents of multiculturalism argue that acknowledging racial differences allows perceivers to recognize different life experiences and better understand each other, leading to a greater sense of unity (Plaut, 2002). Just as the mutual differentiation model encourages groups to work together while letting the different talents of each group shine, multiculturalism encourages harmony while letting members of different groups express their own cultures.

### **Many Positive Effects of Multiculturalism**

As mentioned earlier, a number of studies have shown positive benefits of multiculturalism. Many of these studies compared multiculturalism to colorblindness or assimilation. For example, White Americans who endorsed multiculturalism were more likely to view other ethnic groups positively compared to others who endorsed assimilation (Wolsko et al.,

2006). Similarly, regardless of their race, participants who endorsed multiculturalism over colorblindness view the racial outgroup more positively, suggesting that multiculturalism is associated with less prejudice towards members of other racial groups (Ryan et al., 2007). Other studies found that when multiculturalism was made salient through an experimental manipulation, White perceivers showed less prejudice towards Hispanic Americans than when colorblindness or assimilation were made salient (Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). All of the aforementioned research relied on self-reports, but there is always a possibility that self-report data is open to self-presentation bias, which is a problem for socially sensitive topics wherein self-reports may mask participants' real racial attitudes (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). To learn the effects of multiculturalism on implicit (unconscious) racial attitudes, Richeson and Nussbaum primed White participants with either colorblindness or multiculturalism and then had them complete an Implicit Association Task (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) in which participants were asked to quickly pair White and Black names with good and bad words. Results showed that participants exposed to the multiculturalism prime had weaker pro-White implicit attitudes compared to those exposed to colorblindness. Additionally, multiculturalism also appears to have a beneficial impact on interracial interactions such that participants primed with multiculturalism (vs. colorblindness) displayed more positive other-focused behavior (e.g., being friendly and interested and asking questions of their partner) in intergroup interactions (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009).

### **Some Negative Effects of Multiculturalism**

In spite of these positive effects of multiculturalism, however, other studies show negative effects. In one of the very first experiments looking at the impact of multiculturalism on stereotyping and prejudice, Wolsko et al. (2000) found that exposure to multiculturalism led participants to use both positive and negative stereotypes in making judgments about Black Americans whereas exposure to colorblindness did not affect stereotyping anymore than not



being exposed to any ideology. Other research has shown that the negative effects of multiculturalism emerge especially when White perceivers come into conflict with a member of an ethnic minority group, or when White perceivers strongly identify with their ethnicity (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). More recently, it has been shown that White Americans feel their own group is excluded by multiculturalism: White participants spontaneously associate diversity and multiculturalism with Asians, Blacks, and Latinos over their ingroup (Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Similarly, Plaut and colleagues (2011) primed participants with multiculturalism or colorblindness and had them complete an IAT that assessed the degree to which they associated multiculturalism vs. colorblindness with inclusion and exclusion. Results showed that White participants were faster at pairing multiculturalism with exclusion vs. inclusion, whereas ethnic minority participants showed no such difference. A second study aiming to change that association exposed White participants to either the typical description of multiculturalism (which makes no mention of White Americans) or another version that explicitly named White Americans as one of many groups included in multiculturalism. This time, participants who received a description of multiculturalism where Whites were explicitly included did not associate multiculturalism with exclusion more strongly than inclusion whereas the original description in which Whites were not mentioned resulted in the same pattern of results as Study 1. Taken together, these studies demonstrate that White Americans spontaneously view diversity and multiculturalism as being about ethnic minorities, not about them; as such they feel excluded by it unless they are explicitly mentioned.

**The effects of including Whites in multiculturalism.** In addition to demonstrating that Whites associate multiculturalism with exclusion vs. inclusion, Plaut et al. (2011) also demonstrated that Whites were more likely to endorse diversity within an organizational context when they associated multiculturalism with the self (vs. others) or when they felt included (vs. excluded) in organizational diversity. As a whole, Plaut and colleagues' work suggests that Whites who feel excluded from multiculturalism may be less likely to support diversity efforts in

education and work settings. However, it is important to note that these findings are specific to the effect of including Whites in multiculturalism on Whites' attitudes toward multicultural policies, not on their attitudes towards ethnic minorities.

What might be the effects of including or excluding Whites in multiculturalism on other types of psychological outcomes? One possibility is that leaving Whites out of multiculturalism would lead them to feel more negatively towards multicultural policies and, by association, ethnic minorities who benefit from it. In contrast, explicitly including Whites in multiculturalism might lead them to feel more positively inclined toward this ideology, and by extension, positively toward ethnic minorities as well. This prediction is consistent with Plaut et al.'s work. One goal of the present research was to examine how making the role of Whites salient (or not) in multiculturalism affects White individuals' attitudes towards ethnic minorities and inclusion of minorities as part of the nation.

A different (and somewhat counterintuitive) possibility is that when Whites are included in descriptions of multiculturalism they may feel that the language subtly places them and ethnic minorities on par with each other, thus denying them primacy in the mainstream American status quo. To the extent that people are typically motivated to defend the status quo and justify the existence of the current social structure as they know it (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), White individuals may push back against a version of multiculturalism that puts their group at par with ethnic minority groups by expressing *more* prejudice towards ethnic minorities as a way of exerting their own group's pre-eminence. In comparison, they may express relatively *less* prejudice against ethnic minorities when Whites are not explicitly mentioned in multiculturalism, because this may signal that other groups are being added to the current societal structure without threatening the primacy of Whites.

**The role of the status quo.** I have suggested that one reason why multiculturalism may have negative effects on Whites' attitudes when Whites are included in its description is that it may be viewed as changing the current societal structure, or status quo, in which Whites are

primary and ethnic minorities are secondary. Why might proposing a change to the status quo make people react negatively? The status quo implies an orderly societal structure which is maintained by following a particular set of rules. According to system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), people have a psychological need to maintain order in their lives. They may attempt to uphold order by justifying the status quo through subscribing to ideologies that justify inequalities and hierarchical relationships between groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), such as believing in a just world, or by believing in the Protestant Work Ethic (Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002). People are particularly motivated to believe that the current status quo is legitimate when they are members of high status groups and when the societal status quo is under threat (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005). Therefore, when people (particularly high status group members) see the status quo as being challenged or threatened, they are likely to respond defensively (Jost, Liviatan, van der Toorn, Ledgerwood, Mandisodza, and Nosek, 2010). For example, Kay et al. found that when individuals experienced high system threat, they rated powerful people as more intelligent and independent than powerless people compared to when individuals experienced low system threat, thus justifying the legitimacy of the societal status quo.

Applying these findings to my dissertation research, it seems reasonable to predict that if a high-status group (White Americans) that is accustomed to having primacy in the national culture is presented with an ideology that equally includes both their group and a low-status group (ethnic minorities), this ideology would be experienced as a threat to the current status quo, which may lead to a defensive response, such as greater preference for one's ingroup over ethnic minorities.

### **Some Unknowns**

**The effects of multiculturalism on national inclusion.** In addition to not knowing whether or not making the role of Whites in multiculturalism salient might impact White

perceivers' *attitudes* towards ethnic minorities, it is also unclear how it would impact their perceptions of ethnic minorities' *inclusion in the nation* (i.e., do perceivers see these groups as legitimately American?). The majority of the aforementioned research dealt with the effects of multiculturalism on perceivers' *attitudes* toward ethnic outgroups. To my knowledge, no empirical research has examined whether exposure to multiculturalism enhances the *inclusion* of ethnic minorities in the superordinate national group. This absence of data is surprising because the primary goal of multiculturalism is to create unity within a larger superordinate national group (American) while maintaining ethnic distinctiveness. It is not a foregone conclusion that multiculturalism will increase national inclusion because a growing body of research suggests that Americans often do not perceive ethnic minorities to be "true" Americans even though they are citizens. Regardless of individuals' actual citizenship, their race and ethnicity is often spontaneously used as the indicator of nationality. Asian, Hispanic, and African Americans are less likely to be implicitly perceived as American than White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Rydell, Hamilton, & Devos, 2010). This effect, known as the "American = White effect" even occurs when individuals are explicitly told the citizenship of the individuals they are judging (Devos & Ma, 2008).

If multiculturalism increases White individuals' positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities, will it also increase the inclusion of minorities in the national group? Some research suggests that it is possible to like someone without including them in one's own group. For example, Devos and Ma (2008) investigated whether actress Lucy Liu, who is Asian American, would be perceived as more or less American than actress Kate Winslet, who is White and European. Despite reading biographic sketches that emphasized Liu and Winslet's citizenship, results showed that participants implicitly perceived Liu as being less American than Winslet, although they clearly knew that Winslet is British. Notice that although Lucy Liu is a well-liked celebrity, liking her did not translate into national inclusion—she was still seen as a foreigner.

Yet other research suggests that feeling positively towards a target reduces the America =

White effect. Rydell, Hamilton, and Devos (2010) presented participants with the pictures and names of 10 Americans four times each. Some participants saw positive White or African American exemplars (e.g., John F. Kennedy or Martin Luther King, Jr.) while others saw negative White or African American exemplars (e.g., Ted Bundy or Mike Tyson). Each picture was accompanied by two descriptions and participants had to determine which description matched the exemplar (description valence always matched the condition in order to ensure that participants saw the individual in a positive or negative light). Participants then completed implicit and explicit national inclusion tasks. Results showed that when participants had seen negative African American exemplars, the America = White effect was significantly greater than when participants had seen positive exemplars; exemplar valence had no effect on the America = White effect when the exemplars were White Americans. This was true for both implicit and explicit measures. In other words, if participants were exposed to positive African American exemplars (and presumably liked said exemplars), they were more likely to see African Americans as American compared to if they were exposed to negative exemplars (who were presumably disliked).

Note that these two above-mentioned studies yielded opposite results. The first one suggests that liking ethnic minority individuals does not necessarily make them accepted as more American, while the second one suggests that liking racial minority individuals makes their entire racial group seem more legitimately American. Based on these opposing findings it is unclear whether or not multiculturalism will affect attitudes towards and national inclusion of ethnic minorities in a similar or different way. I sought to clarify these results in my dissertation.

### **The Current Research**

Multiculturalism has been shown to have both positive and negative effects on how Whites view ethnic minorities, and some effects of multiculturalism are still unknown (in particular, how including Whites in multiculturalism may or may not affect Whites' attitudes

toward ethnic minorities as well as national inclusion of them). How can these mixed results be reconciled? The current research proposes that different framings of multiculturalism might be responsible for the mixed results.

Differences in the *role of Whites* within multiculturalism might be one explanation for the previous mixed findings. As previously discussed, Whites tend to associate multiculturalism as the domain of ethnic minorities, but it is possible that occasionally Whites may view multiculturalism as something that they can take part in, which could explain mixed findings. In my dissertation I tested how varying the role of Whites in multiculturalism might influence participants' attitudes toward, and national inclusion of, ethnic minorities relative to Whites. Two competing predictions are possible. One possibility is that including Whites in multiculturalism could lead White perceivers to prefer Whites over ethnic minorities and emphasize that Whites are more American than ethnic minorities more so than when Whites are not included in multiculturalism. This would occur if White perceivers interpret the inclusion of Whites in multiculturalism as meaning that their own group is now on par with ethnic minorities in American society (rather than being pre-eminent), thus threatening the current American status quo. In contrast, when multiculturalism does not mention Whites this may be interpreted as not threatening White pre-eminence in the American status quo but merely adding other groups into the mix.

A second possibility, however, is the opposite: *not* including Whites in multiculturalism could make Whites feel excluded and subsequently need to reassert their place in society as a high status group by expressing ingroup favoritism and seeing their ingroup as more American than ethnic minorities whereas *including* Whites in multiculturalism may allay those concerns. This is likely to occur if not acknowledging Whites is seen as ignoring their societal pre-eminence whereas when Whites are included in multiculturalism, White pre-eminence is not being threatened; the status quo is being maintained.

Whites' reactions to multiculturalism may also vary depending on the *temporal framing*

of this ideology. Some versions of multiculturalism may emphasize the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into mainstream American society by broadening American institutions, culture, and norms (I call this *Permanent Multiculturalism*). When White individuals encounter such an ideology, they may push back against it by expressing more prejudice because this version of multiculturalism threatens to upend the existing mainstream status quo in society. Because Permanent multiculturalism does threaten the status quo, it is likely that the effects of permanent multiculturalism will be especially strong when the role of Whites in multiculturalism is also threatening the status quo.

However, when multiculturalism is framed differently as events that can be temporarily experienced and enjoyed like tourists visiting a new place without disrupting one's regular life (e.g., visiting ethnic festivals or ethnic enclaves like Chinatown), that version of multiculturalism (which I call *Tourism Multiculturalism*) will reduce threat to the mainstream status quo and in turn will decrease prejudice against ethnic minorities. Given that Tourism multiculturalism does not change the status quo in American society, varying the role of Whites will not likely affect the outcome of Tourism multiculturalism.

In sum, four goals guided the current research. First, I examined whether negative effects of multiculturalism are particularly likely when Whites are present in the description of multiculturalism vs. absent from it. Second, I tested whether different framings of multiculturalism (Tourism vs. Permanent Multiculturalism) have systematically different effects on White perceivers' attitudes toward ethnic minorities and the degree to which they are included in the nation (Studies 1 and 2). Third, I sought to identify and test a possible psychological process (threat to the status quo) by which varying framings of multiculturalism produce differential effects on attitudes toward, and national inclusion of, ethnic minorities (Study 2). And finally, Study 3 manipulated the primacy of the White status quo in order to see if it might affect people's attitudes toward, and inclusion of, ethnic minorities.

A secondary goal of the current research was to investigate how participants' own ethnic

identity might affect their responses to multiculturalism. Previous work has shown that high ethnic identification among dominant group members predicts less support for minority rights (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2006) and greater resistance to multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2005). Furthermore, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje (2002) found that highly identified group members are more likely than less identified group members to respond to group threats with prejudice and discrimination. Along the same lines, Morrison et al. (2010) found that highly ethnically identified individuals were more likely to feel threatened by multiculturalism and subsequently act more prejudiced. Given these findings, one possibility is that high ethnic identification among White participants may predict more negative reactions to multiculturalism (negative attitudes and less inclusion).

Conversely, however, other research has shown that group identification does not always reliably predict outgroup bias. For example, Knowles & Peng (2005) found that White American identification was only weakly correlated with implicit and explicit ingroup favoritism. Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009) found that national identification was only weakly correlated ( $r = .08, p < .001$ ) with prejudice towards immigrants in the United States, and Pehrson, Brown, and Zagefka (2009) find that there was a significant relationship between national identification and prejudice towards immigrants (specifically asylum seekers) when individuals endorsed the idea that the national group was based on ethnicity, but no relationship if they didn't endorse this view. Furthermore, it is reasonable to consider that if participants feel connected to their own ethnic background and know their own family's cultural background and national origin (and recognize the history of immigration for their own American family), they may be more open to people of other backgrounds. In other words, ethnic identity among White American participants may not produce more negative reactions to multiculturalism, and may even produce positive reactions.



## CHAPTER 2

### STUDY 1

#### **Method**

##### **Overview**

The goal of Study 1 was to test whether different framings of multiculturalism would influence White perceivers' attitudes toward ethnic minorities and the degree to which they are included in the national group. To examine this issue, Study 1 manipulated two independent variables. First, multiculturalism was framed as either a temporary experience (i.e., Tourism Multiculturalism) or a permanent experience (i.e., Permanent Multiculturalism). In Tourism Multiculturalism, multiculturalism was described as providing opportunities for Americans to temporarily experience different cultural traditions in the United States by attending cultural festivals and learning words and phrases in other languages, but always being able to return to their own culture and customs. In Permanent Multiculturalism, multiculturalism was described as permanently integrating various cultural traditions into daily life in the U.S. by recognizing non-European cultural events on the national level, and by incorporating commonly spoken languages other than English into everyday life so that mainstream American life includes multiple cultures.

Second, orthogonal to the above manipulation, Study 1 also manipulated the salience of White Americans in the description of multiculturalism: one condition included White ethnic groups in the description by explicitly noting the role of White ethnic cultural traditions in the context of multiculturalism (Whites Present condition) whereas another condition simply did not mention White ethnic groups (Whites Absent condition). The resulting four conditions, Type of Multiculturalism (Tourism vs. Permanent) x Role of Whites in Multiculturalism (Whites Absent vs. Whites Present) were accompanied by a control condition, which described unique characteristics of the United States but did not mention ethnic groups.

## Hypotheses

I had two competing predictions about how the construal of multiculturalism might affect participants' attitudes toward ethnic minorities. One possibility was that White participants would always express more positive attitudes toward their ingroup compared to ethnic minorities, but this difference would be especially large in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are present rather than absent whereas no such difference would be obtained in the conditions involving Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites are present vs. absent (Hypothesis 1a). This was predicted because when Whites are present in Permanent Multiculturalism, participants may view multiculturalism as *equally* including White and non-White ethnic groups' customs and traditions in mainstream American culture – a divergence from traditional views of the U.S. in which White American heritage is primary. This may threaten participants' ideas of American heritage as mostly White, thus leading to the compensatory motivation to show more preference for their ingroup over their outgroup. When Whites are absent from Permanent Multiculturalism, participants may view multiculturalism as adding non-White ethnic groups' customs and traditions on top of the presumed mainstream White American customs and traditions, which does not threaten ideas about the primacy of White American heritage. Because Tourism Multiculturalism does not involve integrating ethnic minorities into the U.S., it should not threaten White American heritage at all, regardless of the Role of Whites.

Yet another possible hypothesis is that while participants would always prefer their ingroup compared to ethnic minorities, this difference would be largest in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are absent rather than present whereas no such difference would be obtained for Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites are absent vs. present (Hypothesis 1b). This may occur if participants perceive Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are absent as excluding people like them (see Plaut et al, 2011; Unzueta & Binning, 2010) leading to the compensatory motivation to show more preference for their ingroup over the outgroup in this condition compared to the Whites Present condition where participants should feel included, thus

lessening the need for preferring their ingroup over ethnic minorities. As before, Tourism Multiculturalism does not involve integrating ethnic minorities into the U.S. and thus should not threaten White American heritage at all, regardless of the Role of Whites.

Using the same logic as above, I also had two competing predictions about how the construal of multiculturalism might affect participants' inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group. One possibility was that White participants would always view their ingroup as more American than ethnic minorities, but that difference would be especially large in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are present compared to absent whereas no such difference would be obtained in the conditions involving Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites are present vs. absent (Hypothesis 2a). As before, this is expected to occur because Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are Present may threaten participants' beliefs about the primacy of White American heritage because this construal of multiculturalism places all ethnic groups on a level playing field, thus leading participants to emphasize that America = White (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Ma, 2008; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Rydell, Hamilton, & Devos, 2010). However, Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are Absent may allow participants to view ethnic minorities as being added to the United States without threatening the centrality of White American heritage, thus participants no longer need to emphasize that Whites are more American than ethnic minorities. Again, Tourism Multiculturalism is not integrating ethnic minorities into the U.S. and thus should not affect participants' inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group, regardless of the Role of Whites.

Another possibility, however, is that White participants would always view their ingroup as more American than ethnic minorities, but that this difference would be largest in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are absent compared to present whereas no such difference would be obtained for Tourism Multiculturalism (Hypothesis 2b). As with attitudes towards ethnic minorities, if participants feel excluded in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are absent, they are likely to exclude ethnic minorities from the national group in return more so than when

they are a part of multiculturalism, as in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are present. Tourism Multiculturalism is not integrating ethnic minorities into the U.S. and thus should not affect participants' inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group, regardless of the Role of Whites.

## **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 243$ ) were recruited from the human subject pool at the University of Massachusetts in return for extra credit in their psychology classes. I retained only those participants who self-identified as White American because I wanted to focus on majority group members' perceptions of minorities within the United States. As such, 3.7% ( $n = 9$ ) were removed after identifying as a race other than White, and 1% ( $n = 2$ ) were removed for not being U.S. citizens. In addition, 2% ( $n = 5$ ) were removed because they guessed the hypotheses. All of the remaining 227 participants identified as White U.S. citizens.

## **Manipulations and Measures**

**Manipulating framings of multiculturalism.** Participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 5 conditions. In four of these conditions, participants read about Tourism or Permanent Multiculturalism in which Whites were present or absent. In the fifth (control) condition they did not read about multiculturalism. In all 5 conditions, participants first read an introduction that stated, "In the United States today, there are many reasons to be proud to be an American. As Americans and part of the United States, we have many advantages at our fingertips that people in other countries do not have." After this introduction, the description began to vary.

In the 4 experimental conditions, participants then read,

One of the things that makes the United States a place to be proud of is multiculturalism. The U.S is a multicultural nation because we are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders.

Multiculturalism is recognizing and appreciating the diversity of all people in a common group. Some ways in which we can be multicultural are described next...

In Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent, participants read about being multicultural by celebrating holidays and sharing multiple languages:

**We can be multicultural by celebrating holidays.** Different cultural groups bring richness to the United States via such things as food, music, arts, and dress. One of the ways in which we can experience these aspects of multiculturalism is through celebrating holidays like Cinco de Mayo, the Chinese New Year, and Kwanzaa. These holidays occur throughout the year and, thanks to the diversity of the U.S., we can all visit and experience these different cultures by participating in festivals and events related to holidays that people of different ethnicities celebrate.

**We can be multicultural by sharing multiple languages.** Having many ethnicities and cultures in the United States means having many different languages. Thanks to the diversity of the U.S., we can all make languages from different countries a temporary part of our lives by learning common phrases in languages from multiple cultures.

If White were Present in Tourism Multiculturalism, two small changes were made to the above text. First, Easter, Columbus Day, and Oktoberfest were added to the list of holidays as holidays associated with White ethnic groups. Second, the section about sharing multiple languages was amended to say, "Having many ethnicities and cultures in the United States means having many different languages, sometimes brought in with immigrant families and sometimes passed down from European grandparents".

In Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent participants also read text about being multicultural through celebrating holidays and sharing multiple languages:

**We can be multicultural by celebrating holidays.** Different cultural groups bring richness to the United States via such things as food, music, arts, and dress. One of the ways in which we can experience these aspects of multiculturalism is through celebrating holidays like Cinco de Mayo, the Chinese New Year, and Kwanzaa. These holidays occur throughout the year and, thanks to the diversity of the U.S., we can all integrate multiple cultures into our daily lives by teaching school children about ethnic holidays and by recognizing these events at the local, state, and federal level.

**We can be multicultural by sharing multiple languages.** Having many ethnicities and cultures in the United States means having many different languages. Thanks to the diversity of the U.S., we can all make languages from different cultures a permanent part of our lives and American culture by making available government documents, public announcements, and street signs in other languages in addition to English, and by making books of multiple languages available in public libraries.

The changes made to Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present were the same as the Whites Present variation of Tourism Multiculturalism.

In the control condition, participants read about landmarks and climate types unique to the United States:

**The United States has...** The United States has many iconic architectural wonders that are recognized landmarks throughout the world. Furthermore, the United States is a vast country with varied climates from coast to coast more so

than most other countries. The next two pages will discuss some specific landmarks and climate types...

**Landmarks from Coast to Coast.** Something unique to the United States is the Statue of Liberty. Over the years, the meanings of the Statue have grown until she has become an international icon of freedom and liberty, the most recognizable symbol of democracy in the world. On the opposite coast lies the Golden Gate Bridge, so named because the Golden Gate Strait is the entrance to the San Francisco Bay from the Pacific Ocean. The bridge is one of the top ten longest suspension bridges in the world.

**Many Different Climates.** The United States includes a wide variety of climate types due to its large size, range of geographic features, and non-contiguous arrangement. These climates range from subarctic (in Alaska) to tropical climate (in Hawaii and the southern tip of Florida). One can experience almost any type of climate by moving from one part of the United States to another.

After completing their assigned reading, participants were asked to think about the cultural events and languages described in the text, and to think of and write down other ways in which these types of diversity could be experienced occasionally (in Tourism multiculturalism) or incorporated permanently into people's daily lives (in Permanent multiculturalism). In the control condition, participants were asked to think of and write down other landmarks or climates that set the U.S. apart from other nations.

**Explicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities and Whites.** Participants were asked to complete a series of feeling thermometers asking them to rate their feelings towards ethnic minorities in general and White Americans on a scale of 1 (very cold feelings) to 100 (very warm feelings). They used this same scale to indicate their feelings towards specific ethnic minority

groups (e.g., Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans)<sup>1</sup> and specific White ethnic groups (e.g., German Americans, Irish Americans, English Americans, and Italian Americans).<sup>2</sup> In addition, participants completed a scale assessing their attitudes towards ethnic minorities adapted from Plant, Butz and Tartakovsky's (2008) Attitudes toward Hispanics scale. These questions assessed participants' comfort with having ethnic minorities intermingle in everyday life at school, work, and in their neighborhoods. See Appendix A for all explicit attitude items.

**Implicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities and Whites.** A Go/No-go Association Task was used to measure the degree to which participants implicitly associate ethnic minorities and Whites with positive vs. negative words (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001). The GNAT is a speeded search task where participants' responses on each trial are constrained to a small response window (600 ms) and the task measures how frequently they make errors while responding. Participants saw 4 types of stimuli (pictures or words) flash one at a time on the computer screen; they were told to categorize some of these stimuli by giving a "go" response while ignoring all other stimuli ("no go" response) on other trials. In this particular GNAT, participants completed 4 blocks of trials in which they saw 4 types of stimuli that were presented randomly: White faces, ethnic minority faces (e.g., Black, East Asian, Hispanic, and Native American), negative words (e.g., ugly, bad) , and positive words (e.g., beauty, good). In one block, participants were told to give a "go" response for White faces and negative words and "no go" for all other items (abbreviated as White + negative block). In another block they were asked to give a "go" response for White faces and positive words and "no go" for all others (abbreviated as White + positive block). In a third block participants gave a "go" response for ethnic minority

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<sup>1</sup> These four groups were chosen because they represent the largest racial/ethnic minority populations in the United States (U.S. Census, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> As with the ethnic minority groups chosen, these four White ethnic groups represent the largest European ethnic ancestries in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2008).



faces and negative words (minority + negative block). And in a fourth block participants gave a “go” response for ethnic minority faces and positive words (minority + positive block). The order of these blocks was counterbalanced for all participants. (See Appendix B for all stimuli.)

A low error rate, or few incorrect responses, on the GNAT indicates that an individual was able to easily differentiate the two “go” stimuli from everything else, thus making very few mistakes. This suggests a strong implicit association between the two “go” stimuli as they are easily linked as a pair separate from the other stimuli. Conversely, a high error rate, or many incorrect responses, on the GNAT indicates that an individual had difficulty differentiating the two “go” stimuli from everything else, suggesting a weak implicit association between the two “go” stimuli because they were not easily linked as a pair separate from everything else. For example, a participant who has a positive implicit attitude towards minorities should have a low error rate when completing the minority + positive block because minorities should be linked with positive concepts in his or her mind, whereas a participant who has a negative implicit attitude towards minorities should have a high error rate on the same block because minorities are *not* linked to positive concepts for him or her.

Participants’ correct and incorrect “go” responses were used to compute a d-prime score which captures participant’s ability to differentiate between “go” trials (signal) and “no-go” trials (noise). Larger d-prime numbers suggest participants are quickly able to identify the “go” stimuli and differentiate them from the other stimuli in the speeded GNAT, suggesting a strong implicit association between the two “go” stimuli. Smaller d-primes suggest participants have difficulty identifying the “go” stimuli and differentiating them from the others, or that they have a weak implicit association between the two stimuli. Specifics on the computation of d-prime are discussed in the results section.

**Explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites as American.** Participants indicated their agreement or disagreement on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) with

series of statements assessing the degree to which they view ethnic majority and minority groups to be true Americans. For example, they were asked: “Do (ethnic minorities/Whites) love the U.S.?” and, “Do (ethnic minorities/Whites) work for America’s best interests?” Other questions asked participants to rate if ethnic minorities and Whites belong in the U.S., are loyal to the U.S., and respect the America’s political institutions and laws. These items have been adapted from those previously used by Devos and Banaji (2005) and Yogeeswaran et al. (2011). See Appendix C for all items.

**Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites as American.** Another GNAT was used to measure the degree to which participants implicitly associated ethnic minorities and Whites with iconic American vs. foreign symbols. In this particular GNAT, participants completed 4 blocks of trials in which they saw 4 types of stimuli that were presented randomly: White faces, ethnic minority faces (e.g., Black, East Asian, Hispanic, and Native American), American symbols (e.g., a dollar bill, the American flag), and foreign symbols (e.g., a Ukrainian banknote, the Republic of Kiribati flag). In one block, participants were told to give a “go” response for White faces and American symbols and “no go” for all other items (abbreviated as White + American block). In another block they were asked to give a “go” response for White faces and foreign symbols and “no go” for all others (abbreviated as White + foreign block). In a third block participants gave a “go” response for ethnic minority faces and foreign symbols (minority + foreign block). And in a fourth block participants gave a “go” response for ethnic minority faces and American symbols (minority + American block). The order of these blocks was counterbalanced for all participants. See Appendix B for all stimuli.

As with the previous GNAT, a participant who strongly associates Whites with being American should have a low error rate when completing the White + American block whereas a participant who does not strongly associate Whites with being American should have a high error rate on the same block. Participants’ correct and incorrect “go” responses were used to compute

a d-prime score which captures participant's ability to differentiate between "go" trials (signal) and "no-go" trials (noise). Larger d-prime numbers suggest participants are quickly able to identify the "go" stimuli and differentiate them from the other stimuli in the speeded GNAT. Smaller d-primes suggest participants had difficulty identifying the "go" stimuli and differentiating them from the others. In other words, if a participant has a large d-prime for the White + American block, he or she could quickly identify White faces and American symbols and differentiate them from everything else.

**Exploratory Variables.** Because the proposed framings of multiculturalism may elicit other types of thoughts, I also measured the following exploratory variables: (1) participants' views of how enjoyable multiculturalism is based on the description they read; (2) how much of a choice participants feel they have in deciding to engage with multiculturalism or not; (3) how separate or integrated multiculturalism is in relation to their everyday lives; and (4) how feasible multiculturalism is in American society. Two to six items were used to assess each of the above-mentioned dimensions (Enjoyment, Choice, Integration, and Feasibility). See Appendix D for all exploratory items.

**Manipulation Check.** To ensure that participants remembered the description of multiculturalism they had read, they were asked several questions to assess: (1) whether they viewed multiculturalism as a temporary experience to engage with (e.g., "Multiculturalism is about experiencing multiethnic foods and festivals.") or a permanent experience that is integrated into American society (e.g., "Multiculturalism should be part of the fabric of mainstream American life."); and (2) whether multiculturalism included Whites or was for ethnic minorities only (e.g., "Multiculturalism is something for ethnic minorities only.") See Appendix E for all items.

**Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM).** Given that White participants may experience multiculturalism very differently depending on their own ethnic affiliation, I assessed

individual differences in participants' ethnic identity and awareness. Some White individuals may have spent a significant amount of time learning about their family ethnic background and/or may feel connected with their family's cultural traditions while others may have very little knowledge or connection to any familial ethnic background. In order to see if individual differences in ethnic identity affected participants' responses, participants answered the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). This measure is comprised of two factors. Five questions assessed participants' ethnic identity search, or the amount of time and effort they spent learning about their ethnic identity; seven questions assessed participants' connection to their ethnicity, or the affirmation, belonging, and commitment they felt in regards to their ethnic background. See Appendix F for all items.

**Demographic Items.** Participants were asked to indicate their age, sex, race, citizenship, political beliefs, and the highest level of education their parents had achieved (a proxy for socioeconomic status). See Appendix G for these items.

## **Procedure**

Participants came into the lab expecting to participate in a study about "The United States and You." They were told that they would first read some information about the United States and would then answer questions related to their attitudes about the United States and their fellow Americans. Participants were escorted to individual cubicles where they completed the study on personal computers. At this point they were randomly assigned to one of five conditions: Tourism or Permanent Multiculturalism with Whites either Present or Absent, or the control condition. Participants read the manipulation text on-screen and then completed a brief list-making task related to the reading to ensure that they had been paying attention to the text. Next participants completed implicit and explicit attitudes and inclusion measures (the order of all four tasks was counterbalanced between subjects). Third, participants completed the exploratory variables,

followed by the manipulation check questions, MEIM, demographic questions, and then probed for hypothesis guessing. Finally, they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## **Results**

### **Demographic Description of the Sample**

The sample consisted of 179 females and 47 males, and 1 participant who declined to indicate sex. Participants were an average of 20.11 years of age ( $SD = 2.01$  years). These participants came from well-educated families. Sixty-seven percent of mothers had completed an associate's degree or higher (and over 50% had completed a bachelors or a graduate degree) and 64% of fathers had completed an associate's degree or higher (again, over 50% had completed a bachelors or graduate degree).

Participants' responses on the MEIM (a 1-4 scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree) revealed that they were slightly skewed to the left for both ethnic identity search ( $\alpha = .67$ ,  $M = 2.70$ ,  $SD = .49$ ) and connection to their ethnic group ( $\alpha = .90$ ,  $M = 3.13$ ,  $SD = .50$ ), suggesting that overall participants had spent some amount of time learning about their ethnic background and felt connected to their ethnic group. The two subscales were highly correlated with each other ( $r = .60$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that participants' identity search was closely linked to their connection with their ethnic identity.

Participants were asked to rate their political beliefs on a two scales of 1 to 5 from strongly Republican to strongly Democratic and from strongly conservative to strongly liberal. These two items were averaged together ( $\alpha = .78$ ). Though the sample's distribution is slightly skewed to the left, or the liberal/Democratic end of the scale, participants tended to answer at the neutral midpoint of the scale ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = .73$ ).

### **Manipulation Check**

I examined whether participants who had read information about Tourism vs. Permanent

Multiculturalism with Whites Present vs. Absent subsequently remembered the primary elements of the text. That is, did participants who read about Permanent Multiculturalism remember that their reading suggested that multiculturalism should be an everyday experience and did participants in the Tourism Multiculturalism condition remember that multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience? If Whites were present in their text, did participants see multiculturalism as including Whites and if Whites were absent from their text, did participants remember that multiculturalism did not mention Whites?

**Permanent Multiculturalism.** I averaged the two Permanent Multiculturalism items together (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .82$ ) and conducted a 2 (Type of Multiculturalism: Tourism vs. Permanent) X 2 (Role of Whites in Multiculturalism: Present or Absent) between-subjects ANOVA which showed a significant 2-way interaction  $F(1, 176) = 3.85, p = .05$  such that participants who read a permanent construal of multiculturalism where Whites were absent described multiculturalism as permanently integrated into American society more so ( $M = 3.91, SE = .10$ ) than others who read a tourism construal of multiculturalism where Whites were absent ( $M = 3.59, SE = .10$ ),  $p < .05$ . However, this difference in the perceived permanency of multiculturalism was not obtained when permanent or tourism multiculturalism was described with Whites present ( $M = 3.67, SE = .12$ , and  $M = 3.80, SE = .12$ , respectively;  $p = .46$ ). The main effects were nonsignificant and planned contrasts showed that the control condition was not significantly different from any other condition on this item ( $ps > .34$ ). See Table 1 for all means and standard deviations.

**Tourism Multiculturalism.** The two Tourism items did not hang together (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .28$ ) and were analyzed separately using a Type of Multiculturalism X Role of Whites in Multiculturalism between-subjects ANOVA. The ANOVA for one item, "Multiculturalism is experienced on specific special occasions," was non-significant ( $ps > .45$ ), while the other item "Multiculturalism is about experiencing multiethnic foods and festivals," showed a significant

two-way interaction,  $F(1, 177) = 6.03, p < .05$  such that participants endorsed this item much more after reading about Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites were Present ( $M = 3.76, SE = .12$ ) than Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present ( $M = 3.41, SE = .12$ ),  $p = .05$ , but there was no difference in endorsement of this item after reading about Tourism vs. Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent ( $M = 3.39, SE = .12$ ;  $M = 3.64, SE = .12$ , respectively;  $p = .15$ ). There were no significant main effects. See Table 1.

**Role of Whites in Multiculturalism.** Two items assessed whether participants believed the description of multiculturalism included or excluded Whites. The item, “Multiculturalism is something for ethnic minorities only,” was reverse coded and combined with the other item, “Multiculturalism is something I can take part in,” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .71$ ). This item was analyzed using a Type of Multiculturalism X Role of Whites ANOVA, but did not yield any significant effects ( $ps > .92$ ). For means and standard deviations see Table 1.

### **Explicit Attitudes towards Ethnic Minorities**

**Feeling Thermometers.** I first took participants’ feeling thermometer ratings towards Whites in general and ethnic minorities in general and used them as the dependent variables in a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group (Whites vs. ethnic minorities) ANOVA. This analysis revealed several significant effects (see Figure 1a). First, a significant main effect of Target Group  $F(1, 177) = 116.10, p < .001$  indicated that participants much preferred Whites ( $M = 82.05, SE = 1.27$ ) over ethnic minorities ( $M = 66.05, SE = 1.44$ ) regardless of the type of multiculturalism they had read about. Second, a significant 2-way interaction between Role of Whites and Target Group,  $F(1, 177) = 7.98, p < .01$ , indicated that participants felt more positive toward ethnic minorities after reading about multiculturalism where Whites were *not* present ( $M = 69.57, SE = 2.04$ ) rather than when Whites were explicitly present ( $M = 62.63, SE = 2.03$ ),  $F(1, 177) = 5.63, p < .05$ . In comparison, mentioning the Role of Whites in multiculturalism made no difference in attitudes towards Whites (Whites Absent  $M = 81.27, SE =$

1.80; Whites Present  $M = 82.83$ ,  $SE = 1.79$ ;  $F(1, 177) = .38$ ,  $p = .54$ ). Finally, and most importantly, consistent with Hypothesis 1a, I found a significant 3-way interaction between Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group,  $F(1, 177) = 3.92$ ,  $p = .05$ . When this effect was decomposed by Type of Multiculturalism, results showed that in Permanent Multiculturalism, participants' preference for Whites over ethnic minorities was especially strong when Whites were Present in the description of multiculturalism (Whites  $M = 85.75$ ,  $SE = 2.45$ ; minorities  $M = 61.91$ ,  $SE = 2.80$ ) compared to when Whites were Absent (Whites  $M = 81.11$ ,  $SE = 2.5$ ; minorities  $M = 71.55$ ,  $SE = 2.86$ ). In Tourism Multiculturalism, Whites were always seen as significantly more American than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites. See Figure 1a.

Planned contrasts compared attitudes between each experimental condition and the control condition. No between-condition differences were conventionally significant, however, I found a marginal difference between attitudes expressed in the Permanent Multiculturalism Whites Present condition compared to the control: Whites were liked marginally more in Permanent Multiculturalism where White were Present ( $M = 85.75$ ,  $SE = 2.39$ ) than in the control condition ( $M = 79.1$ ,  $SE = 3.10$ ;  $p = .09$ ); in the same condition ethnic minorities were liked marginally less ( $M = 61.91$ ,  $SE = 2.69$ ) than the control ( $M = 68.76$ ,  $SE = 3.28$ ;  $p = .10$ ) See Figure 1b.

Recall that participants had also indicated their attitudes on a series of feeling thermometers for individual ethnic groups, some White ethnic and others ethnic minority. I conducted an exploratory factor analysis on these feeling thermometer ratings to see if participants' explicit ratings of various White ethnic groups would hang together and similarly if ratings of various non-White ethnic minority groups hang together. This factor analysis indicated that all groups hung together as expected, except that attitudes towards German Americans which aligned equally strongly with ethnic minority groups (factor weight = .52) and White ethnic



groups (factor weight = .51). Thus attitudes toward German Americans were eliminated from this analysis. Ratings of the remaining White ethnic groups were averaged together ( $\alpha = .82$ ). Ratings of non-White minorities were also averaged together ( $\alpha = .90$ ). I then conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group ANOVA where the dependent variables were these averaged feeling thermometer ratings. This showed the same main effect of Target Group and Target Group x Role of Whites interaction as the analysis above, but the results for the 3-way interaction were non-significant ( $p = .16$ ). However, the pattern of means was the same as for the analysis above using ethnic minorities in general and Whites in general as the dependent variables.

**Attitudes Towards Ethnic Minorities Scale.** An exploratory factor analysis on the Attitudes Towards Ethnic Minorities scale revealed four separate factors: Prejudice towards minorities ( $\alpha = .75$ ,  $M = 1.97$ ,  $SD = .64$ ; 6 items), Minorities are un-American ( $\alpha = .79$ ,  $M = 2.35$ ,  $SD = .74$ ; 6 items), Comfort with minorities as equals ( $\alpha = .68$ ,  $M = 3.38$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ; 3 items), and Minority parochialism ( $\alpha = .65$ ,  $M = 3.07$ ,  $SD = .81$ ; 4 items), which indicated that participants saw minorities as sticking together and only interacting with members of their own group. I submitted each factor to a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVA, however, all ANOVAs were nonsignificant other than one marginal effect. Specifically, when minority parochialism was the dependent variable, the ANOVA revealed a marginal main effect of Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 177) = 2.94$ ,  $p = .09$ , which indicated that participants were more likely to judge minorities as self-segregated from the American mainstream if they had read about Tourism Multiculturalism ( $M = 3.47$ ,  $SE = .08$ ) than Permanent Multiculturalism ( $M = 3.17$ ,  $SE = .08$ ). No other effects were significant. See Table 2 for all means and standard deviations. Overall the explicit attitude results show that systematic variations in the description of multiculturalism affected pure evaluative preferences (good/bad) towards Whites and ethnic minorities more so than these attitude statements, which had beliefs embedded in the items.

### **Implicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites.**

Recall that participants completed four different blocks of trials in the GNAT: White + positive, White + negative, minority + negative, and minority + positive. On each trial, participants were to give a “go” response for the specified target stimuli (e.g., White faces or positive words on the White + positive block) and “no go” for all other stimuli. If a participant had difficulty differentiating between the “go” trials (signal) and the “no go” trials (noise), he or she would have a high error rate, which indicated that the two types of “go” stimuli were not strongly associated in his or her mind and differentiated from other stimuli.

Signal detection analysis was used to analyze the GNAT data. Specifically, I computed a d-prime score which captures participant’s ability to differentiate between “go” trials (signal) and “no-go” trials (noise). For each block of trials, participants’ hits (correct “go” responses) and false alarms (incorrect “go” responses) were converted to z scores and standardized false alarms were subtracted from standardized hits. The resulting number is d-prime; larger d-prime numbers suggest participants are quickly able to identify the “go” stimuli and differentiate them from the other stimuli in the speeded GNAT, suggesting a strong implicit association between the two “go” stimuli. Smaller d-primes suggest participants have difficulty identifying the “go” stimuli and differentiating them from the others, or that they have a weak implicit association between the two stimuli. Thus, a participant with a larger d-prime on the White + positive block has a strong implicit association between Whites and positivity (strong White preference) while a participant with a smaller d-prime on the White + positive block has a weak implicit association between Whites and positivity (weak White preference). In keeping with GNAT computation conventions (see Nosek & Banaji, 2001), participants with negative d-prime scores ( $n = 37$ , or 16.3% of the sample) or d-prime scores of zero ( $n = 18$ , or 7.9% of the sample) were removed from these analyses because a d-prime score of 0 is equivalent to chance meaning that participants were responding randomly and negative d-prime scores suggest that participants did not follow instructions.

Each participant had 4 d-prime scores on the GNAT which captured their implicit association between White + positive, minority + positive, White + negative, and minority + negative. To simplify presentation of the results, I computed a measure of each participant's implicit attitude toward Whites by subtracting the d-prime for the White + negative block from the d-prime for the White + positive block. A similar difference score was computed to capture each participant's implicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities by subtracting the d-prime for the minority + negative from the d-prime for the minority + positive block. Larger difference scores mean a stronger implicit association between the target group and positive (compared to negative) words.<sup>3</sup>

I first conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group mixed-model ANOVA where Target Group was the within-subjects variable and all others were the between-subjects variables, and the difference score of d-primers for each target group on the Attitudes GNAT was the dependent variable. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 136) = 210.63, p < .001$ , such that participants viewed Whites significantly more positively ( $M = .65, SE = .07$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = -.87, SE = .07$ ). No other main effects or interactions were significant. See Figure 2a. This result shows that systematic variations in the description of multiculturalism did not affect participants' implicit attitudes toward Whites or ethnic minorities, even though these descriptions affected participants' explicit attitudes as reported earlier. Regardless of how multiculturalism was described participants implicitly preferred White Americans to ethnic minorities equally across conditions.

Planned contrasts were used to compare each experimental condition to the control condition. These revealed that participants in all experimental conditions who had read about multiculturalism expressed significantly less positive attitudes towards Whites than participants in

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<sup>3</sup> For this and all future analyses using implicit attitudes, data analyses were also conducted using each individual block separately to examine positive implicit attitudes and negative implicit attitudes as distinct constructs (without a difference score). Difference scores are used here for simplicity.

the control condition (all  $ps < .08$ ).<sup>4</sup> Participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities did not vary by condition. In other words, reading about multiculturalism overall (regardless of the variety) reduced implicit ingroup favoritism compared to the baseline control condition. See Figure 2b.

A conceptually similar ANOVA was conducted, this time treating each GNAT block as a repeated measure (White + good, White + bad, minority + good, minority + bad) with d-prime as the dependent variable without computing a difference score. Thus, I conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group x Word Valence (Positive vs. Negative) ANOVA, which showed a significant interaction of Target Group x Attitude Valence,  $F(1, 136) = 81.22, p < .001$ , such that participants associated White faces significantly more easily with positive words ( $M = 1.93, SE = .08$ ) than negative words ( $M = 1.28, SE = .07$ ), but ethnic minorities significantly more with negative ( $M = 2.00, SE = .07$ ) than positive words ( $M = 1.13, SE = .06$ ). As before, planned contrasts compared d-primes for each condition to d-primes for the control condition. These showed that there were no significant differences between the experimental conditions and the control condition.

### **Explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites as American**

Participants' ratings of each target group cohered together: ratings of ethnic minorities on all 8 items yielded  $\alpha = .89$  and ratings of Whites on the same items yielded  $\alpha = .84$ , so two separate indices were created for Whites and ethnic minorities. In order to assess participants' explicit beliefs about the degree to which the two groups were seen as American, I conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group ANOVA. Results revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 176) = 52.13, p < .001$ , which showed that participants saw Whites as significantly more American ( $M = 3.73, SE = .05$ ) than ethnic

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<sup>4</sup> Specifically, participants in the control condition ( $M = 1.05, SE = .14$ ) were significantly more positive towards Whites compared to the Tourism, Whites Absent condition ( $M = .67, SE = .14, p < .05$ ); Tourism, Whites Present ( $M = .56, SE = .12, p < .01$ ); Permanent, Whites Absent ( $M = .72, SE = .15, p = .08$ ); and Permanent Whites Present ( $M = .67, SE = .15, p < .05$ ) conditions.

minorities ( $M = 3.31$ ,  $SE = .05$ ). A marginal two-way interaction between Target Group x Role of Whites,  $F(1, 176) = 3.14$ ,  $p = .08$ , revealed that this difference is especially large when Whites were present in the description of multiculturalism (Whites  $M = 3.73$ ,  $SE = .07$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = 3.21$ ,  $SE = .07$ ) rather than when they were absent (Whites  $M = 3.73$ ,  $SE = .07$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = 3.41$ ,  $SE = .07$ ),  $ps < .001$ .

More importantly, consistent with Hypothesis 2a, I found a marginal 3-way interaction between Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group,  $F(1, 176) = 3.40$ ,  $p = .07$  (see Figure 3). When disaggregated by Type of Multiculturalism, follow-up analyses showed that in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present, Whites as a group were seen as significantly more American ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SE = .09$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SE = .10$ ;  $p < .001$ ), but in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were absent the two target groups were seen as similarly American (Whites  $M = 3.69$ ,  $SE = .09$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = 3.54$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $p = .12$ ). In Tourism Multiculturalism, Whites were always seen as significantly more American than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites. Recall that this finding is similar to that for participants' explicit attitudes towards Whites and ethnic minorities. See Figure 3a.

Planned contrasts compared experimental and control conditions. Results showed that ethnic minorities were seen as marginally more American in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent ( $M = 3.54$ ,  $SE = .10$ ) compared to the control condition ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SE = .10$ ;  $p = .09$ ). No other contrasts were significant. See Figure 3b.

### **Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites as American**

As with the implicit attitudes data, signal detection theory was used to analyze the GNAT data assessing participants' implicit belief about the degree to which Whites and ethnic minorities are perceived to be American. The 4 blocks of the national inclusion GNAT captured the ease with which participants associated White + American, minority + American, White + foreign, and minority + foreign using d-prime as a measure of implicit belief strength. As before, for ease of

presentation, I calculated a difference score in d-prime for each target group. Specifically, for minorities I subtracted the d-prime for the minority + foreign block from the d-prime for minority + American block such that larger resulting numbers indicated a stronger association between minorities and American symbols.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, for Whites I subtracted the d-prime for the White + foreign block from the d-prime for the White + American block such that larger resulting numbers indicated a stronger association between Whites and American symbols. As with implicit attitudes, prior to conducting any analyses I removed participants with negative d-scores ( $n = 30$ , or 13.2% of the sample) or d-scores equal to zero ( $n = 11$ , or 4.8% of the sample).

Using the resulting sample I conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group ANOVA where Target Group was the within-subjects variable and the other two were between-subjects variables, and difference scores based on d-prime was the outcome variable. This analysis showed a significant main effect of target group,  $F(1, 143) = 250.83, p < .001$ , such that participants saw Whites as being significantly more American ( $M = .74, SE = .08$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = -1.05, SE = .07$ ). No other main effects or interaction effects were significant. In other words, regardless of how multiculturalism was described participants implicitly perceived Whites as more American than ethnic minorities. Systematic variations in the description of multiculturalism did not affect the degree to which participants implicitly viewed ethnic minorities as American. See Figure 4a. Planned contrasts were used to compare each experimental condition to the control condition. None of the effects were statistically significant. See Figure 4b.

To compare the degree to which participants viewed each target group as American separate from their view of the same group as foreign, I re-conducted the ANOVA using d-primes for each block as repeated measures (without computing difference scores). A Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group x National Symbol (American vs. Foreign)

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<sup>5</sup> For this and all future analyses using implicit inclusion, further analyses were also conducted using each individual block separately to examine positive implicit attitudes and negative implicit attitudes as distinct constructs (without a difference score). Difference scores are used here for ease of presentation.

ANOVA revealed a Target Group x National Symbol interaction,  $F(1, 143) = 250.83, p < .001$  such that, overall, Whites were associated significantly more with American symbols ( $M = 1.90, SE = .07$ ) than foreign symbols ( $M = 1.16, SE = .05$ ) while ethnic minorities were associated significantly more with foreign symbols ( $M = 1.98, SE = .07$ ) than American symbols ( $M = .93, SE = .05$ ). As before, no other main effects or interaction effects were significant.

## **MEIM**

I also investigated whether participants' responses on the MEIM moderated the effect of different framings of multiculturalism on the attitudes and inclusion measures. In other words, did highly ethnically identified participants respond differently on the attitudes or inclusion measures than those not highly ethnically identified? Because the two MEIM subscales were so highly correlated ( $r = .60$ ), I first combined both subscales into a single ethnic identity item ( $\alpha = .88$ ). I then conducted a regression testing whether the MEIM score alone or in interaction with the experimental conditions significantly predicted participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities or Whites and inclusion of them in the national group.

**Explicit Attitudes.** The regressions showed a marginally significant effect of Ethnic Identity on participants' feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities in general,  $B = 6.12, SE = 3.25, t(177) = 1.89, p = .06$ , indicating that the stronger participants' ethnic identity was, the warmer they felt towards minorities regardless of the type of multiculturalism they had read about. There was also a significant effect of the Role of Whites,  $B = -6.91, SE = 2.86, t(177) = -2.42, p < .05$ , such that when Whites were present (vs. absent) in the description of multiculturalism, participants disliked minorities more. There were no other significant effects for explicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities. When participants' feeling thermometer ratings of Whites were used as the dependent variable in the regression, there were no significant effects.

**Explicit Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities as American.** Ethnic Identity marginally predicted how much participants saw ethnic minorities as being part of the national group,  $B =$

.19,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(176) = 1.75$ ,  $p = .07$ . Specifically, the stronger participants' ethnic identity was, the more they saw ethnic minorities as part of the national group. As with attitudes towards ethnic minorities, participants' ethnic identity did not interact with multiculturalism condition ( $p = .25$ ), which suggests that suggesting that regardless of what participants read, having a strong sense of ethnic background is associated with to greater inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group. The regression also showed a significant effect of the Role of Whites,  $B = -.21$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(176) = -2.02$ ,  $p = .05$ ; specifically, when Whites were present in the description of multiculturalism, participants saw minorities as less American. There was also an effect of the Type of Multiculturalism,  $B = .19$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(176) = 1.88$ ,  $p = .05$ , such that when multiculturalism was described as Permanent, participants saw ethnic minorities as more American. No other effects were significant.

**Explicit Inclusion of Whites as American.** The regression showed a significant effect of ethnic identity,  $B = .31$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t(176) = 2.92$ ,  $p < .01$ , such that, like explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities, the stronger participants' ethnic identity was, the more they saw Whites as part of the national group. This effect further interacted with Type of Multiculturalism for a significant 2-way interaction,  $B = -.41$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $t(173) = -1.94$ ,  $p = .05$ , which showed that in the condition where Multiculturalism was described as a tourist experience, the more participants knew about and felt connected to their background, the more they saw Whites as part of the national group ( $p < .01$ ). However, when multiculturalism was described as permanently integrated into American life, participants' ethnic identity did not predict greater inclusion of Whites in the national group ( $p = .50$ ). In other words, when participants held a stronger ethnic identity and multiculturalism was described in a way that made ethnic groups' role in the U.S. temporary, the more they saw Whites as being American. If multiculturalism was described in a way that permanently included ethnic groups in the U.S., ethnic identity was no longer related to seeing Whites as American.



**Implicit Attitudes and Inclusion.** The regression revealed no significant effects for the implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities or Whites. Similarly, regressions revealed no significant effects for implicit attitudes towards minorities or Whites.

### **Exploratory Variables**

I first created composite variables for each of the 4 exploratory dimensions (Enjoyment, Integration, Choice, and Feasibility) based on my *a priori* assumptions about how these items would hang together. These items were relatively reliable.<sup>6</sup> Once the variables were created, they were used as the dependent variables in a series of Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVA. None of these ANOVAs showed any significant effects, and planned contrasts revealed that none of the experimental conditions were significantly different from the control condition. For means and standard deviations, see Table 3.

### **Study 1 Discussion**

Study 1 explored whether different framings of multiculturalism would have different influences on White perceivers' attitudes toward ethnic minorities and the degree to which they are included in the national group. Results provided support for Hypothesis 1a and 2a, but not 1b or 2b. First, in keeping with Hypothesis 1a, White participants always expressed more positive attitudes toward their ingroup compared to ethnic minorities, but this preference was especially large in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present compared to when Whites were Absent. There was no such difference between Whites and ethnic minorities when multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience. This finding (which was only true for participants' explicit attitudes measured with feeling thermometer ratings but not their implicit attitudes) suggests that participants who read about Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present may have felt that including ethnic minorities and Whites as equals in

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<sup>6</sup> Enjoyment alpha = .82; Choice alpha = .65; Integration alpha = .66 with 1 item, "Multiculturalism is something people can go and experience when they want to." dropped; and Feasibility alpha = .66.

multiculturalism threatened the primacy of Whites in mainstream American culture, thus creating a compensatory motivation to emphasize their preference for their racial ingroup vs. outgroup whereas when Whites were Absent in Permanent multiculturalism their primacy in American society was not threatened and participants no longer needed to emphasize liking their ingroup over their outgroup.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that participants would always see Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, but that this difference would be especially large in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present vs. Absent. This prediction was based on the logic that permanently integrating ethnic minorities and Whites equally into the United States might threaten participants' beliefs about White primacy in the United States, thus leading participants to emphasize that American = White. The results for explicit – but not implicit – inclusion of Whites and ethnic minorities supported this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1b and 2b were not supported by the data, suggesting that while including Whites in multiculturalism may improve Whites' perceptions of multiculturalism (Plaut et al., 2011) it does not extend to more positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities or greater national inclusion of ethnic minorities. In fact, Study 1 suggests the opposite may be true, which is a surprising but important finding.

Finally, exploratory analyses on the MEIM showed that the greater participants' ethnic identity, the more they explicitly liked ethnic minorities, and the more they explicitly included both ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group.

Interestingly, differences in framings of multiculturalism only affected explicit attitudes and national inclusion, but not implicit measures of the same constructs. However, exposure to *any* type of multiculturalism was found to reduce implicit ingroup favoritism compared to the no-multiculturalism control condition. Participants in any multiculturalism condition implicitly liked Whites significantly less than participants in the control condition, so exposure to multiculturalism in any form may be helpful in improving intergroup attitudes. Attitudes towards

ethnic minorities, however, did not differ from the control condition.

It is also important to note that impact of the role of Whites in multiculturalism. Subtly inserting White ethnic groups into the description of multiculturalism had a substantial impact on participants' explicit attitudes and national inclusion. Participants liked ethnic minorities less *and* saw ethnic minorities as less American compared to Whites, when Whites were present in multiculturalism compared to when Whites were absent. This seems to suggest that including Whites in descriptions of multiculturalism comes at a cost for minorities, a finding that appears inconsistent with past research by Plaut et al. (2011). I discuss this inconsistency in the General Discussion.

### **Limitations**

There were some important limitations to Study 1. First, the manipulation check did not turn out as expected. Ideally, I expected to see significant main effects of the Type of Multiculturalism for questions relating to Tourism and Permanent Multiculturalism, but I did not. One reason might have been that the instructions for the manipulation check questions confounded participants' memory of what was written in the text with their own opinions by stating, "Think back to the reading that you completed at the beginning of the study. *Based on what it said* about the United States, please answer *what you believe* multiculturalism is all about" (emphasis added). The language used in the manipulation check items also varied significantly from that used in the manipulation, thus possibly creating confusion or adding unnecessary difficulty. Study 2 addressed these limitations by changing the manipulation check prompt to emphasize that participants should answer the questions according to what they had read and *not* their personal beliefs, as well as by changing the items to match the language in the manipulation text. I additionally rewrote the first half of the manipulations to emphasize the temporary or permanent nature of multiculturalism for Tourism and Permanent multiculturalism, respectively.

A second limitation was that I did not test the underlying reason as to *why* Permanent vs.

Tourism Multiculturalism with Whites present versus absent might influence their attitudes and inclusion of ethnic minorities in the nation. This was also addressed in Study 2.

## CHAPTER 3

### STUDY 2

#### Method

##### Overview

The purpose of Study 2 was two-fold: First, to replicate the results found in Study 1; that is to again assess with a new sample whether participants who read about Permanent Multiculturalism where Whites are Present will have more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities than when Whites are Absent, while in Tourism Multiculturalism, attitudes towards ethnic minorities will be the same regardless of the presence vs. absence of Whites (Hypothesis 1a). Further, participants in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites are Present should show less inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group than when Whites are Absent while in Tourism Multiculturalism, national inclusion of ethnic minorities should remain the same regardless of the presence vs. absence of Whites (Hypothesis 2a).

The second goal of Study 2 was to examine *why* Permanent vs. Tourism Multiculturalism with Whites Absent vs. Present might differentially impact people's attitudes towards, and inclusion of, ethnic minorities in the national group. In other words, what is the underlying process driving the predicted effects? I predict that motivation to affirm the White American status quo plays a mediating role. When multiculturalism is described as the permanent integration of the cultures and traditions of minority groups, and Whites are mentioned on par with ethnic minorities, participants may see minorities' traditions as threatening the primacy of White traditions in the United States and, as a result, show the most negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the less inclusion of ethnic minorities. In comparison, when Whites are Absent in Permanent Multiculturalism, participants may expect minority groups' traditions as being added as "extras" to those already present in the American mainstream as a default (White

ethnic traditions) and not experience that as threatening the primacy of White cultural traditions. As a result, the latter condition may have less of an effect on attitudes and inclusion of ethnic minorities.

As such, Study 2 first sought to determine whether Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present relative to absent would increase participants' compensatory need to affirm the White status quo while Tourism Multiculturalism, with its temporary nature, would not affect affirmation of the status quo as a function of Whites' presence vs. absence (Hypothesis 3). And if so, would increase in status quo affirmation produce an increase in prejudice towards ethnic minorities (Hypothesis 4) and decrease in inclusion of ethnic minorities (Hypothesis 5).

### **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 288$ ) were recruited from the human subject pool at the University of Massachusetts in return for extra credit in their psychology classes. I again retained only those participants who self-identified as White American, thus 5.5% ( $n = 16$ ) were removed after identifying as a race other than White. An additional 1% ( $n = 3$ ) were removed for not completing the writing task after reading the manipulation text and another 1% ( $n = 4$ ) were removed for guessing the hypothesis. All the remaining 265 participants identified themselves as White U.S. citizens.

### **Manipulations and Measures**

Several measures were kept identical to those in Study 1. Those measures were implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites, implicit and explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites, the MEIM, the exploratory variables assessing perceptions of multiculturalism (Enjoyment, Integration, Choice, and Feasibility). The following manipulations and measures were different in Study 2.

**Manipulating framings of multiculturalism.** As in Study 1, Participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 5 conditions. In four of these conditions, they read about Tourism or Permanent Multiculturalism in which Whites were present or absent. The introductory text was changed from providing a general definition of multiculturalism in Study 1 to providing a definition specific to Tourism or Permanent Multiculturalism in Study 2. The text that is new to Study 2 is italicized. In the fifth (control) condition participants did not read about multiculturalism.

In all 5 conditions, participants read the same introduction as in Study 1, “In the United States today, there are many reasons to be proud to be an American. As Americans and part of the United States, we have many advantages at our fingertips that people in other countries do not have.” After this introduction, the descriptions varied.

Participants in all experimental conditions read the following common introduction:

**The United States is...** *One thing that makes the United States of America a nation to be proud of is our many rights and freedoms, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. These constitutional freedoms allow different types of people and cultures to co-exist in America.*

In Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent, participants then read the following text:

*One way in which different cultures co-exist in our nation is through multiculturalism which gives us the freedom and opportunity to explore and visit various cultural events and activities other than our own, and always have the option to return home to our own cultural context whenever we want. For example...*

**We can be multicultural by sharing multiple languages.** Having many ethnicities and cultures in America means having many different languages.

We can all make languages from different cultures a temporary part of American life by learning common phrases in other languages spoken by ethnic groups in

the U.S. while keeping English as the primary language of our nation.

**We can be multicultural by celebrating cultural events.** We can choose to visit and experience these multiple cultures by participating in different types of ethnic and religious events such as Cinco de Mayo, Chinese New Year, Kwanzaa, and *Ramadan*.

As in Study 1, if Whites were Present in Tourism Multiculturalism, two small changes were made to the above text. First, Easter, Columbus Day, and Oktoberfest were added to the list as holidays associated with White ethnic groups. Also identical to Study 1, the section about sharing multiple languages was amended to say, “Having many ethnicities and cultures in the United States means having many different languages, sometimes brought in with immigrant families and sometimes passed down from European grandparents”.

In Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent, participants read the following text about being multicultural:

*One way in which different cultures co-exist in America is through multiculturalism which gives us the freedom and opportunity to experience various cultures on a daily basis by permanently integrating all cultures including our own into mainstream American life. For example...*

**We can be multicultural by sharing multiple languages.** Having many ethnicities and cultures in America means having many different languages.

We can all make languages from different cultures a permanent part of American life by making available government documents, public announcements, and street signs in multiple languages available in public libraries.

**We can be multicultural by celebrating cultural events.** We can integrate multiple cultures into our daily lives by teaching children and adults about ethnic and religious events such as Cinco de Mayo, Chinese New Year, Kwanzaa, and



*Ramadan*, and by recognizing them at the local, state, and federal level.

The changes made to Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present were the same as they were to make White Present in Tourism Multiculturalism. Furthermore, the control condition text in Study 2 was identical to that in Study 1.

After completing their assigned reading, participants were asked to think about the cultural events and languages described in the text, and to think of and write down other ways in which these types of diversity could be experienced occasionally (in Tourism multiculturalism) or incorporated permanently into people's daily lives (in Permanent multiculturalism). In the control condition, participants were asked to think of and write down other landmarks or climates that set the U.S. apart from other nations.

**Affirmation of the White status quo.** Affirmation of the status quo was measured by testing to what extent participants would endorse items asserting the importance of White American history. On scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) participants rated items such as, "The core of American culture comes from our European ancestors who founded the nation," and "The quintessential symbols that represent our country are the Mayflower, Plymouth Rock, and the first Thanksgiving." It was assumed that strong agreement with these items after reading about multiculturalism would be an indication of attempts to affirm the status quo in a compensatory manner. I took that to be an indirect indication of threat. See Appendix H for all items.

**Affect.** In addition to asking participants to agree or disagree with the White American heritage items, I also asked participants how they were feeling at that very moment with the expectation that if participants were feeling anxious, threatened, or upset by the manipulation it might be reflected in their affect self-reports. Participants were asked to rate 7 emotions (e.g., worried, calm, angry, etc) on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much so). See Appendix I for all items.

**Explicit Attitudes.** Given that the pattern of results in Study 1 on the Feeling Thermometer for various specific ethnic minority and White ethnic groups were the same as those for Whites in general and Minorities in general, participants only completed two feeling thermometers in Study 2. They rated their feelings towards Whites in general and ethnic minorities in general on a scale from 1 (very cold feelings) to 100 (very warm feelings). Participants were again asked to complete the modified Attitudes toward Hispanics scale (Plant et al., 2008).

**Immigration Policies.** New to Study 2, participants were asked to read some proposed legislation regarding immigration and indicate how likely they were to vote in favor or against the proposed immigration policies. Policies included the Boosting Innovation Act, which would grant permanent residency and potentially automatic citizenship to immigrants who entered the U.S. to study science, technology, engineering, or math once they received their professional degrees, and the Dream Act, which would provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who met certain requirements. Participants rated these policies on a scale from 1 (would definitely vote against) to 5 (would definitely vote for). All policies can be seen in Appendix J.

**Manipulation Check.** As in Study 1, participants were asked several questions about the reading that they had completed in order to ensure that they remembered the description of multiculturalism. The manipulation check items for Study 2 were refined to be more specific to the text and included items to assess whether the reading was about multiculturalism as a tourism experience (e.g., “In American life multiculturalism gives us the freedom to visit various cultural events and activities other than our own, and always have the option to return home to our own cultural context.”) or a permanent experience integrated into American society (e.g., “One way we can make languages from other cultures a permanent part of American life is by making books of multiple languages available in public libraries.”). In addition they also assessed whether multiculturalism included Whites or was for ethnic minorities only (e.g., “Multiculturalism

includes everyone in the U.S. regardless of what ethnic and religious events they celebrate or what language they speak.”). See Appendix K for all items.

## **Procedure**

As in Study 1, participants were told that they would read some information about the United States and would answer questions related to their attitudes about the United States and their fellow Americans. They were escorted to individual cubicles where they were randomly assigned to one of five conditions: Tourism or Permanent Multiculturalism with Whites either Present or Absent, or the control condition. Participants read the manipulation text on-screen and then completed a brief list-making task related to the reading to ensure that they had been paying attention to the text. Next, approximately 50% of the participants completed items assessing threat to White American Heritage and self-reported emotions before completing implicit and explicit attitudes and national inclusion measures. The other 50% completed implicit and explicit attitudes and national inclusion items first followed by threat to White American Heritage and emotions items. All measures were counterbalanced. Then participants completed exploratory variables, manipulation check questions, immigration policy items, MEIM, demographic questions, and were probed for hypothesis guessing. Finally they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## **Results**

### **Description of the Sample**

The sample consisted of 201 females and 64 males. The mean age of all participants was 19.98 ( $SD = 2.58$ ). Similar to the sample from Study 1, they came from well-educated backgrounds given that 69% of participants’ mothers had completed a college degree, with nearly 55% completing a bachelor’s or higher. Participants’ fathers were also well-educated, with 66% having college degrees, and over 60% of those being a bachelor’s or graduate degree.

Participants' answers on the MEIM (a 1-4 scale) revealed that they were fairly normally distributed in terms of their ethnic identity search ( $\alpha = .74$ ,  $M = 2.53$ ,  $SD = .54$ ) but skewed very slightly to the left in their connection to their ethnic group ( $\alpha = .88$ ,  $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = .50$ ). As in Study 1 these two subscales were highly correlated ( $r = .68$ ;  $p < .001$ ), which suggests that ethnic identity search and connection to their ethnic group were closely linked for these participants.

As before, participants were asked to rate their political beliefs on two scales of 1 to 5, from strongly Republican to strongly Democratic, and from strongly conservative to strongly liberal. These two items were averaged together ( $\alpha = .82$ ) and the means and distribution examined. The sample was skewed towards the liberal/Democratic end of the scale ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = .77$ ).

### **Manipulation Check**

As in Study 1, I examined whether participants who had read information about Tourism vs. Permanent Multiculturalism in the form with Whites Present vs. Absent would subsequently remember the primary elements of the text. Did participants who read about Permanent multiculturalism recall that their reading suggested multiculturalism should be a permanent part of society and did participants in the Tourism multiculturalism condition remember that multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience? There were also items regarding the Role of Whites in multiculturalism.

**Permanent Multiculturalism.** A Cronbach's alpha revealed low reliability for the two permanent multiculturalism manipulation check items ( $\alpha = .63$ ), so I examined each item separately by conducting two 2 (Type of Multiculturalism: Tourism vs. Permanent) X 2 (Role of Whites in Multiculturalism: Present or Absent) ANOVAs.

The first item, "Multiple cultures (including our own) should be permanently integrated into American life," revealed a significant main effect of the Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 206) = 5.41$ ,  $p < .05$  such that, as predicted, participants in Permanent Multiculturalism more strongly

agreed ( $M = 3.66$ ,  $SE = .09$ ) that their reading had said this compared to participants in Tourism Multiculturalism ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SE = .10$ ). There was no main effect of Role of Whites ( $p = .60$ ) or interaction between the Type of Multiculturalism and Role of Whites ( $p = .84$ ). Planned contrasts comparing each experimental condition to the control condition revealed that participants in all experimental conditions rated this item significantly higher than the control condition (all  $ps < .01$ ; see Table 4 for all means and standard deviations).

The second item, “One way we can make languages from other cultures a permanent part of American life is by having books of multiple languages available in public libraries,” also revealed a significant main effect of Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 205) = 16.61$ ,  $p < .001$  such that participants in the Permanent multiculturalism conditions agreed more strongly ( $M = 3.66$ ,  $SE = .13$ ) that they had read this statement compared to those in the Tourism conditions ( $M = 2.89$ ,  $SE = .13$ ). There were no other significant effects ( $ps > .60$ ). Planned contrasts comparing each experimental condition to the control condition revealed that participants in each Permanent Multiculturalism condition agreed with the item significantly more strongly than participants in the control condition ( $ps < .001$ ), but those in Tourism Multiculturalism did not significantly differ from the control ( $ps > .16$ ); see Table 4 for means.

**Tourism Multiculturalism.** As with Permanent Multiculturalism, the two Tourism Multiculturalism items were not strongly correlated ( $\alpha = .53$ ) and were analyzed separately using 2 (Type of Multiculturalism) X 2 (Role of Whites) ANOVAs. The first item about “learn[ing] common phrases in languages spoken by ethnic groups in the U.S. while keeping English as the primary language,” revealed a significant main effect of Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 205) = 11.68$ ,  $p = .001$ , such that, as predicted, participants in the Tourism Multiculturalism conditions agreed that their reading said this significantly more ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SE = .12$ ) than participants in the Permanent Multiculturalism conditions ( $M = 2.96$ ,  $SE = .12$ ). There were no other significant effects ( $ps > .27$ ). Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control conditions revealed that participants in both Tourism conditions (Whites Absent  $M = 3.56$ ,  $SE =$

.17; Whites Present  $M = 3.55$ ,  $SE = .18$ ) as well as Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SE = .15$ ) agreed with this statement significantly more than those in the control condition ( $M = 2.55$ ,  $SE = .20$ ;  $ps < .01$ ). See Table 4.

The other item, “In American life multiculturalism gives us the freedom to visit various cultural events and activities other than our own, and always have the option to return home to our own cultural context,” showed no significant effects ( $ps > .65$ ). However, planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control condition reveal that participants in the control condition agreed that they had read this statement ( $M = 2.85$ ,  $SE = .17$ ) than those in all experimental conditions (all  $ps < .001$ ); see Table 4.

**Role of Whites in Multiculturalism.** Two items assessed whether participants recalled the role of Whites in the description of multiculturalism. These items were analyzed separately ( $\alpha = .62$ ) using a 2 (Type of Multiculturalism: Tourism vs. Permanent) X 2 (Role of Whites in Multiculturalism: Present or Absent) between-subjects ANOVA, but neither yielded any significant effects ( $ps > .12$ ). Despite this, planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control showed that participants in the control condition rated these items significantly lower than participants in the experimental condition, indicating that participants remembered that the control condition reading had not said anything about who is part of multiculturalism (all  $ps < .05$ ; see Table 4 for means)

### **Implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites**

Participants with negative d-scores on any block ( $n = 46$ , or 17.4% of the sample) or for having d-scores equal to zero ( $n = 8$ , or 3% of the sample) were removed from analyses in keeping with GNAT computation conventions. Each participant had 4 d-prime scores on the GNAT which captured their implicit association between White + positive, minority + positive, White + negative, and minority + negative. As in Study 1, I computed a measure of each participant’s implicit attitude toward Whites by subtracting the d-prime for the White + negative

block from the d-prime for the White + positive block. A similar difference score was computed to capture each participant's implicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities by subtracting the d-prime for the minority + negative from the d-prime for the minority + positive block. Larger difference scores mean a stronger implicit association between the target group and positive (compared to negative) words.

I first conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group (White vs. minority) mixed-model ANOVA where Target Group was the within-subjects variable, all others were between-subjects variables, and the difference scores of d-primes on the Attitudes GNAT were the dependent variable. This analysis showed several significant effects (see Figure 5a). First, a significant main effect of target group,  $F(1, 169) = 302.20, p < .001$ , showed that participants viewed Whites significantly more positively ( $M = .70, SE = .06$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = -.91, SE = .06$ ). Second, consistent with Hypothesis 1a, there was a marginal 3-way interaction of Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group,  $F(1, 169) = 2.98, p = .09$ . When this effect was decomposed by Type of Multiculturalism, results showed that in Permanent Multiculturalism, participants' preference for Whites over ethnic minorities was especially strong when Whites were Present in the description of multiculturalism (Whites  $M = .74, SE = .12$ ; minorities  $M = -1.06, SE = .13$ ) compared to when Whites were Absent (Whites  $M = .67, SE = .11$ ; minorities  $M = -.72, SE = .13$ ). In Tourism Multiculturalism, Whites were always seen as significantly more American than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites. Target Group did not interact with the Role of Whites ( $p = .60$ ) or Type of Multiculturalism ( $p = .93$ ). Planned contrasts comparing the control condition to each experimental condition for both White and ethnic implicit attitudes showed no significant differences. See Figure 5b.

To compare the degree to which participants viewed each target group positively separate from their view of the same group as negative, I re-conducted this ANOVA using d-primes for each block as repeated measures which revealed a Target Group x Word Valence interaction,  $F(1,$

169) = 302.20,  $p < .001$ . Overall, Whites were associated significantly more with positive words ( $M = 1.93$ ,  $SE = .07$ ) than negative words ( $M = 1.24$ ,  $SE = .06$ ) while ethnic minorities were associated significantly more with negative words ( $M = 2.00$ ,  $SE = .07$ ) than positive words ( $M = 1.09$ ,  $SE = .07$ ). A marginal 4- way interaction between Target Group x Word Valence x Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites,  $F(1, 169) = 2.98$ ,  $p = .09$ , echoed the previous results. That is, not only were participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities always more negative than positive, but the difference between negative and positive associations was especially large in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present (minority + positive  $M = 1.06$ ,  $SE = .09$ ; minority + negative  $M = 2.12$ ,  $SE = .13$ ) vs. Absent (minority + positive  $M = 1.25$ ,  $SE = .11$ ; minority + negative  $M = 1.97$ ,  $SE = .13$ ). Attitudes towards ethnic minorities did not differ in Tourism multiculturalism ( $p = .12$ ). Attitudes towards Whites did not vary by anything other than Word Valence (described above). Planned contrasts revealed no differences between the experimental conditions and the control for any of the dependent variables.

### **Explicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites**

**Feeling thermometer.** Participants' ratings towards ethnic minorities and Whites on a feeling thermometer were entered as the dependent variable in a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group (White or ethnic minority) ANOVA. This analysis reveals a significant main effect of Target Group  $F(1, 205) = 58.48$ ,  $p < .001$  such that participants always preferred Whites ( $M = 77.90$ ,  $SE = 1.29$ ) over ethnic minorities ( $M = 65.66$ ,  $SE = 1.48$ ). Unexpectedly, unlike Study 1, the 3-way interaction was not significant,  $F(1,205) = .001$ ,  $p = .97$ . Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control condition revealed that participants felt significantly less positively towards the ethnic minorities ( $M = 61.81$ ,  $SE = 2.97$ ) in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent than in the control condition ( $M = 72.57$ ,  $SE = 2.78$ ),  $p = .01$ . In this same condition they also felt marginally less positively towards



Whites ( $M = 74.87$ ,  $SE = 1.77$ ) than in the control ( $M = 81.78$ ,  $SE = 2.78$ ),  $p = .06$ . No other experimental conditions were significantly different from the control. See Figure 6b.

**Attitudes toward ethnic minorities.** An exploratory factor analysis on the Attitudes Toward Ethnic Minorities scale revealed 3 main clusters of variables: Minorities are un-American ( $\alpha = .81$ ; 9 items); Minorities are parochial ( $\alpha = .66$ , 4 items); and Prejudice toward Minorities ( $\alpha = .66$ ; 7 items). I submitted each to a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVA. None of these analyses yielded any significant results ( $ps > .18$ ).

### **Implicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites**

The 4 blocks of the national inclusion GNAT captured the ease with which participants associated White + American, minority + American, White + foreign, and minority + foreign using d-prime as a measure of implicit belief strength. As before, for ease of presentation, I calculated a difference score in d-prime for each target group. Specifically, for ethnic minorities I subtracted the d-prime for the ethnic minority + foreign block from the d-prime for ethnic minority + American block such that larger resulting numbers indicated a stronger association between ethnic minorities and American symbols. Prior to conducting any analyses, I removed participants with negative d-scores ( $n = 31$ , or 11.7% of the sample) or for having d-scores equal to zero ( $n = 10$ , or 3.8% of the sample).

Using the remaining sample, I conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group mixed-model ANOVA where Target Group was the within-subjects variable, the others were between-subjects variables, and the difference of the d-prime scores on the Inclusion GNAT for each group were the dependent variable. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of Target Group  $F(1, 177) = 345.89$ ,  $p < .001$ , which showed that participants saw Whites as being significantly more American ( $M = .61$ ,  $SE = .06$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = -1.19$ ,  $SE = .07$ ). There was also a marginally significant interaction of Role of Whites x Target Group,  $F(1, 177) = 3.13$ ,  $p = .08$ , showing that while Whites are always seen as more American than ethnic

minorities, this difference was especially pronounced when Whites were Present in multiculturalism (Whites  $M = .69$ ,  $SE = .09$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = -1.28$ ,  $SE = .10$ ) rather than Absent (Whites  $M = .52$ ,  $SE = .09$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = -1.10$ ,  $SE = .10$ ), see Figure 7a. Similar to Study 1, Hypothesis 2a was not supported by the implicit inclusion data in the sense that the Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group interaction was not significant ( $p = .63$ ). Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control for both White and ethnic minority implicit inclusion showed no significant differences. See Figure 7b.

A conceptually similar ANOVA was conducted, this time treating each GNAT block as a repeated measures (White + American, White + foreign, minority + American, minority + foreign) which revealed the same significant main effect of Target Group as well as a significant interaction between Target Group and Symbol Type  $F(1, 177) = 345.90$ ,  $p < .001$ . The interaction also showed that participants associated Whites significantly more with American symbols ( $M = 1.96$ ,  $SE = .06$ ) than foreign symbols ( $M = 1.35$ ,  $SE = .05$ ) while ethnic minorities were associated significantly more with foreign symbols ( $M = 2.12$ ,  $SE = .07$ ) than American ( $M = .93$ ,  $SE = .05$ ). Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control for all d-primes showed no significant differences ( $ps > .10$ )

### **Explicit Inclusion of minorities and Whites**

Participants' ratings of each target group again cohered: All 8 ratings of Whites yielded  $\alpha = .86$  and the 8 ratings of ethnic minorities  $\alpha = .90$ . As such, two separate indices were created for Whites and ethnic minorities. In order to assess participants' explicit beliefs about the degree to which each group was seen as American, I conducted a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group ANOVA. Results revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 205) = 39.72$ ,  $p < .001$  such that participants saw Whites as more American ( $M = 3.76$ ,  $SE = .04$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SE = .05$ ). A marginal two-way interaction of Target Group x Role of Whites interaction,  $F(1, 205) = 3.01$ ,  $p = .08$ , revealed that this difference was especially large when Whites were present in the description of multiculturalism (Whites  $M = 3.84$ ,  $SE =$

.06; ethnic minorities  $M = 3.38$ ,  $SE = .07$ ) compared to when Whites were absent (Whites  $M = 3.68$ ,  $SE = .06$ ; ethnic minorities  $M = 3.42$ ,  $SE = .07$ ),  $ps < .001$ . Unlike Study 1, the 3-way interaction between Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites x Target Group was not significant ( $p = .59$ ). See Figure 8a.

Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the control condition for both ethnic and White explicit inclusion revealed that participants in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present saw Whites as being significantly more American ( $M = 3.92$ ,  $SE = .08$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M = 3.67$ ,  $SE = .08$ ;  $p < .05$ ). See Figure 8b.

### **Affirmation of status quo**

The six items assessing affirmation of the White status quo were submitted to a Cronbach's reliability analysis. All items except for one ("When I think of classic American cultural holidays I think of Christmas and Thanksgiving.") were strongly correlated,  $\alpha = .73$ . These 5 items were averaged together and the resulting score was used as the dependent variable in a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVA.

Consistent with Hypothesis 3 this analysis revealed a significant 2-way interaction,  $F(1, 205) = 4.56$ ,  $p < .05$  which showed that in Permanent Multiculturalism, participants affirmed the status quo more when Whites were Present ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SE = .11$ ) compared to when Whites were Absent ( $M = 2.73$ ,  $SE = .11$ ;  $p = .08$ ) while in Tourism Multiculturalism, the Role of Whites did not impact participants' need to affirm the status quo (Whites Present  $M = 2.78$ ,  $SE = .12$ ; White Absent  $M = 2.96$ ,  $SE = .12$ ;  $p = .20$ ). There were no main effects of Type of Multiculturalism ( $p = .81$ ) or Role of Whites ( $p = .59$ ). See Figure 9a. Planned contrasts comparing the control condition to the experimental conditions revealed a trend such that participants in Permanent Multiculturalism when White were Present affirmed the status quo more ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SE = .11$ ) than participants in the control condition ( $M = 2.75$ ,  $SE = .09$ ),  $p = .10$ . Participants in Tourism

Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent were showed a similar nonsignificant trend toward affirming the status quo more compared to the control,  $p = .12$ . See Figure 9b.

### **Mediation Analyses**

Recall that affirmation of the White status quo was predicted to mediate and explain why exposure to Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present vs. Absent increases prejudice towards ethnic minorities and decreases national inclusion of ethnic minorities. In order to test my mediation predictions for prejudice, I first conducted a regression to test whether the construal of multiculturalism (Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites) as independent variables would predict attitudes toward ethnic minorities (dependent variable). The second step would be to test if Affirmation of Status Quo mediated this effect using the Baron and Kenny (1986) method. Using participants' implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities as the dependent variable, I conducted a regression where Type of Multiculturalism, Role of Whites, and the interaction term were entered as the predictor variables. Unfortunately, the interaction between Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites was not significant,  $F(3, 169) = 2.00$ ,  $p = .12$ , making further testing of mediation unnecessary. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Moreover, because the predicted effect of Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites on implicit or explicit inclusion was nonsignificant (see pp. 55-57), it was unnecessary to test for mediation by affirmation of the White status quo. In other words, Hypothesis 5 regarding this mediation was unsupported.

### **Affect**

An exploratory factor analysis on the 7 affect items revealed that all items loaded onto the same factor. The 3 calm emotion items were reverse-coded (calm, comfortable, and relaxed) so that the average of all 7 items ( $\alpha = .85$ ) indicate feeling more anxious or upset. I used this average as the dependent variable in a Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVA which revealed no significant effects. Planned contrasts comparing the experimental conditions to the

control condition also revealed no significant mean differences. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

### **Immigration Policies**

I submitted each of the immigration policy items to Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites between-subjects ANOVA. Two of these policies showed significant effects, reported below.

**Boosting Innovation Act.** The Boosting Innovation Act would grant permanent residency or even automatic citizenship to immigrants who study in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields upon the receipt of their professional degrees. The 2 x 2 ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of the Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 206) = 4.17, p < .05$ , such that participants in the Permanent Multiculturalism conditions were more in support of this policy ( $M = 3.41, SE = .11$ ) than in Tourism multiculturalism conditions ( $M = 3.10, SE = .11$ ). No other effects were significant ( $ps > .47$ ). Planned contrasts showed a trend such that that participants in Tourism multiculturalism when Whites were Present supported the Boosting Innovation Act less ( $M = 3.02, SE = .16$ ) than those in the control condition ( $M = 3.38, SE = .15$ ),  $p = .09$ . No other conditions were different from the control.

**The Education Act.** The Education Act would prevent schools from refusing to provide education to children and young adults based on immigration status. The 2 x 2 ANOVA showed a significant main effect of Type of Multiculturalism,  $F(1, 206) = 5.90, p < .05$ , similar to that seen for the Boosting Innovation Act: participants who read about Permanent Multiculturalism were more in support of this policy ( $M = 3.66, SE = .12$ ) than those who read about Tourism Multiculturalism ( $M = 3.25, SE = .12$ ). No other effects were significant ( $ps > .75$ ). Planned contrasts showed no significant differences between the experimental conditions and the control condition.

These findings (on the Boosting Innovation Act and Education Act) suggest that when

multiculturalism was described as permanently integrating ethnic minorities into the U.S., participants were subsequently more supportive of policies to help immigrants than when multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience. In other words, describing multiculturalism as the permanent integration of ethnic minorities is more beneficial to prejudice reduction than describing multiculturalism as temporary.

## **MEIM**

As in Study 1, I also investigated whether participants' responses on the MEIM moderated the effect of different framings of multiculturalism on attitudes and inclusion measures. Did highly ethnically identified participants respond differently on the attitudes or inclusion measures than those not highly ethnically identified? Because the two MEIM subscales were so highly correlated ( $r = .67$ ), I combined both subscales into a single ethnic identity items ( $\alpha = .89$ ). I then conducted a series of regressions testing whether the MEIM score alone or in interaction with the experimental conditions significantly predicted participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities or Whites and inclusion of them in the national group.

**Explicit attitudes.** The regressions showed a significant effect of Ethnic Identity on participants' feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities in general,  $B = 14.10$ ,  $SE = 2.57$ ,  $t(205) = 5.48$ ,  $p < .001$ . Specifically, the stronger participants' ethnic identity, the more they liked minorities, regardless of the type of multiculturalism they had read about. There were no other significant effects for explicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities. When participants' feeling thermometer ratings of Whites were used as the dependent variable in the regression, there were no significant effects.

**Explicit inclusion of Whites and ethnic minorities in the national group.** In terms of participant's explicit inclusion of Whites in the national group, the regression showed a significant effect of ethnic identity,  $B = .35$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(205) = 3.01$ ,  $p < .001$  such that the

greater participants' ethnic identity, the more they saw Whites as American. A marginally significant effect of Role of Whites,  $B = .15$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t(205) = 1.88$   $p = .06$  showed that when Whites were Present in multiculturalism, participants saw their ingroup (Whites) as more American than when Whites were Absent (this finding was reported earlier in the context of ANOVAs).

There was also a significant interaction of Ethnic Identity and Type of Multiculturalism,  $B = -.34$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $t(202) = -2.02$ ,  $p = .05$ , which, like in Study 1, showed that when Multiculturalism was described as a Tourist experience, the stronger participant's ethnic identity, the more they saw Whites as part of the national group ( $p < .01$ ). However, when multiculturalism was described as a permanent experience Ethnic Identity was not related to inclusion of Whites in the national group ( $p = .18$ ). In other words, when multiculturalism was described in a way that made ethnic groups' role in the U.S. temporary, the stronger participants' ethnic identity the more they endorsing the belief that Whites were American. However, when multiculturalism was described in a way that permanently included ethnic groups in the U.S., ethnic identity was no longer related to seeing Whites as American. Another regression showed that Ethnic Identity did not predict participants' explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities (no significant effects).

**Implicit inclusion and attitudes.** The regression revealed no significant effects of ethnic identity on implicit inclusion of either group, nor implicit attitudes toward either group.

### **Exploratory Variables**

As in Study 1, I created composite variables for each of the 4 exploratory dimensions (Enjoyment, Integration, Choice, and Feasibility) based on my *a priori* assumptions about how these items would hang together. Composite indices for Enjoyment, Integration, and Feasibility

were relatively reliable.<sup>7</sup> The 4 Choice items were not strongly correlated ( $\alpha = .54$ ), thus each item was analyzed individually. The composite variables and individual Choice items were used as the dependent variables in a series of Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites ANOVAs. The ANOVAs for Enjoyment, Integration, Feasibility, and 3 of the 4 Choice items did not show any significant effects, and planned contrasts revealed that none of the experimental conditions were significantly different from the control condition for these items. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations.

One Choice item, “Multiculturalism is something I can choose to participate in,” showed a significant Type of Multiculturalism x Role of Whites interaction,  $F(1, 204) = 7.91, p < .01$ , which showed that when multiculturalism was described as a permanent experience and Whites were absent, participants agreed with the statement significantly more ( $M = 4.09, SE = .11$ ) than when Whites were present ( $M = 3.72, SE = .12; p < .05$ ). When multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience, agreement with the statement did not significantly vary by Role of Whites (Whites Absent  $M = 3.63, SE = .14$ ; Whites Present  $M = 3.91, SE = .11; p = .11$ ). In other words, when multiculturalism is described as being permanently integrated into the U.S. and Whites were absent from the description, participants saw multiculturalism as more of a choice than if Whites were present. If multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience, participants’ perceptions of choice did not vary by the Role of Whites. Planned contrasts showed that none of the experimental conditions significantly differed from the control condition. See Table 6.

## Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 sought to replicate Study 1 while providing an explanation as to *why* certain framings of multiculturalism increased negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities as well as

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<sup>7</sup> Enjoyment  $\alpha = .81$ ; Integration  $\alpha = .73$  with 1 item, “Multiculturalism is something people can go and experience when they want to.” dropped; and Feasibility  $\alpha = .67$ .



decreased national inclusion of ethnic minorities. Results partially supported my hypotheses. Consistent with Study 1 and Hypothesis 1a, participants always preferred Whites over ethnic minorities, but especially so in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present compared to Absent while there was no such difference in Tourism Multiculturalism. Unlike Study 1, however, these findings were obtained for implicit attitude and not explicit attitude measures.

One possible explanation as to why Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present (vs. Absent) lead to more White preference was that participants felt that the primacy of White American heritage was being threatened. This explanation was supported by the finding that participants affirmed the White status quo more in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present compared to Absent, while Tourism Multiculturalism showed no differences in feelings of threat (Hypothesis 3).

Across both Studies 1 and 2, systematic manipulation of the role of Whites in the description of multiculturalism had significant effects on participants' attitudes toward ethnic minorities relative to Whites and the degree to which they viewed ethnic minorities as authentically American relative to Whites. Specifically, while participants consistently saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, this differential perception of national inclusion was stronger when Whites were present in the description of multiculturalism rather than absent. In Study 1, this effect was seen for explicit attitudes (i.e., feeling thermometer ratings) and explicit inclusion. In Study 2, a similar effect emerged for both implicit and explicit inclusion: If Whites were absent in the description of multiculturalism, the difference in national inclusion of Whites and ethnic minorities became smaller (implicit inclusion) or even disappeared (explicit inclusion) compared to when Whites were present. However, contrary to Hypothesis 2a, in Study 2 the above-mentioned effect was not further moderated by the description of multiculturalism as permanent vs. tourism-oriented. It is worth noting that the result I was hoping to replicate was only marginally significant in Study 1 ( $p = .07$ ) and may not have been a stable effect.

Furthermore, an important prediction of Study 2 was that motivation to affirm the White American status quo would mediate the relationship between Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present and participants' perceptions of ethnic minorities in terms of their attitudes and national inclusion. However, mediational tests were not significant, thus not supporting Hypothesis 4 and 5.

Although motivation to affirm the White American status quo did not mediate the relationship between Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present (vs. Absent) and ethnic attitudes, it is still possible that the motivation to affirm the White American status quo plays an important role in people's reactions to multiculturalism and might emerge more clearly if it is manipulated rather than measured. This possibility was undertaken in Study 3.

## CHAPTER 4

### STUDY 3

#### **Method**

##### **Overview**

While Study 2 measured status quo affirmation, the goal of Study 3 was to manipulate the primacy of the White status quo in order to see if it might have an effect on people's attitudes towards ethnic minorities and inclusion of them in the national group. To do so, Study 3 framed multiculturalism as permanently integrating ethnic minorities into the United States (i.e., holding Permanent Multiculturalism as a constant) while manipulating 2 independent variables: (1) whether the Role of Whites was Present or Absent (this was done in the same way as the previous two studies), and (2) whether White Heritage was Affirmed or Multi-Ethnic Heritage was Affirmed. The White Heritage Affirmation condition emphasized that the rights and freedoms available in the United States can be traced back to the Founding Fathers and European ancestors, whereas the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation condition emphasized that the rights and freedoms available in the United States have become expanded to include Americans' national origin from many countries, not just Europe. The No Affirmation was the control condition. Thus, the design of Study 3 was a 3 (Type of Affirmation: White Heritage, Multi-Ethnic Heritage, or None) x 2 (Role of Whites: Present vs. Absent) between-subjects design.

##### **Hypotheses**

In terms of participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites, I predicted that participants would always prefer their White ingroup over ethnic minorities in all conditions, but the magnitude of ingroup preference would vary as a function of heritage affirmation and the presence vs. absence of Whites in the description of multiculturalism. When Whites are Present in multiculturalism the magnitude of ingroup preference should be the largest when participants read

the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation text and relatively smaller when participants read the White Heritage Affirmation text, with the No Affirmation condition falling somewhere in-between. These differences should not occur when Whites are Absent (Hypothesis 6). By affirming the primacy of White heritage, the White Heritage Affirmation condition should reduce participants' compensatory motivation to re-affirm the White status quo compared to the No Affirmation control condition because the manipulation already emphasizes the importance of Whites in the history of the U.S., thus leading to a weaker preference for Whites over ethnic minorities. In contrast, affirming the multi-ethnic heritage of the U.S. should increase participants' compensatory motivation to re-affirm the White status quo compared to the No Affirmation control condition because the manipulation de-emphasizes the importance of Whites in the history of the U.S., thus leading to a stronger preference for Whites over ethnic minorities.

Predictions for national inclusion of Whites and ethnic minorities are similar; I predict that participants will always see Whites as more American than ethnic minorities in all conditions, but the magnitude of ingroup inclusion would vary as a function of heritage affirmation and the presence vs. absence of Whites in the description of multiculturalism. When Whites are present in multiculturalism, the magnitude of ingroup inclusion should be the largest when participants read the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation text and relatively smaller when participants read the White Heritage Affirmation text, with the No Affirmation condition falling somewhere in-between. These differences should not occur when Whites are Absent (Hypothesis 7).

## **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 295$ ) were recruited from the human subject pool at the University of Massachusetts in return for extra credit in their psychology classes. As with the previous two studies, I retained only those participants who self-identified as White American. As such, 5% ( $n = 14$ ) were removed after identifying themselves as a race or ethnicity other than White, 1 % ( $n =$

3) were removed from the dataset for not being U.S. citizens, and 1 participant was removed from the dataset after noting that she was a first generation immigrant, which may have affected her perspective on the issues being studied. An additional 2% ( $n = 7$ ) were removed from the dataset for not completing the writing task after reading the manipulation text and 1% ( $n = 3$ ) were removed because they guessed the hypothesis. The remaining 269 participants all identified themselves as White U.S. citizens.

### **Manipulations and Measures**

Several measures were kept identical to those in Study 2 including implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites, implicit and explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites, affirmation of status quo, the MEIM, and the exploratory variables (Enjoyment, Integration, Choice, and Feasibility). The following manipulations and measures were changed for Study 3.

**Manipulating framings of multiculturalism.** As with the two previous studies, in all 6 conditions participants first read an introduction that stated, “In the United States today, there are many reasons to be proud to be an American. As Americans and part of the United States, we have many advantages at our fingertips that people in other countries do not have.” After this introduction, the description began to vary.

In the No Affirmation condition, which was identical to Permanent Multiculturalism in Study 2, participants read:

**The United States is...** One thing that makes the United States of America a nation to be proud of is our many rights and freedoms, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. These constitutional freedoms allow different types of people and cultures to co-exist in America.

In the White Heritage Affirmation condition, participants instead read the following text:

**The United States is...** One thing that makes the United States of America a

nation to be proud of is our many rights and freedoms, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. These rights and freedoms, which can be traced back to our origins as a nation, started with Christopher Columbus and Plymouth Rock, and the Declaration of Independence signed by our Founding Fathers, who came to America from Europe. Even today, the culture and traditions of our European ancestors remain an essential part of the American way of life and form the basis of our constitutional rights and freedoms. These constitutional freedoms allow different types of people and cultures to co-exist in America.

In the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation condition, participants instead read the following:

**The United States is...** One thing that makes the United States of America a nation to be proud of is our many rights and freedoms, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. These rights and freedoms, which can be traced back to our origins as a nation, have been expanded to include more and more people of various races and ethnicities. Our nation has grown and changed from its start with Christopher Columbus and Plymouth Rock to include many more people who came to America from Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Even today, the culture and traditions of our country have adapted to include many ethnic groups and their traditions that have become an essential part of the American way of life. Our constitutional freedoms allow different types of people and cultures to co-exist in America.

After reading these different introductions, participants in all conditions where Whites were Absent in multiculturalism read the following (identical to Permanent Multiculturalism in Studies 1 and 2):

One way in which different cultures co-exist in America is through multiculturalism which gives us the freedom and opportunity to experience various cultures on a daily basis by permanently integrating all cultures including our own into mainstream American life. For example...

**We can be multicultural by sharing multiple languages.** Having many ethnicities and cultures in America means having many different languages.

We can all make languages from different cultures a permanent part of American life by making available government documents, public announcements, and street signs in multiple languages available in public libraries.

**We can be multicultural by celebrating cultural events.** We can integrate multiple cultures into our daily lives by teaching children and adults about ethnic and religious events such as Cinco de Mayo, Chinese New Year, Kwanzaa, and Ramadan, and by recognizing them at the local, state, and federal level.

As with Studies 1 and 2, if Whites were Present in multiculturalism, Easter, Columbus Day, and Oktoberfest were added to the list of holidays of cultural events as events associated with White ethnic groups. Additionally, the section about sharing multiple languages was amended to say, "Having many ethnicities and cultures in the United States means having many different languages, sometimes brought in with immigrant families and sometimes passed down from European grandparents".

After reading the assigned text, participants were asked to think about the cultural events and languages described in the text and to think of and write down other ways in which these type of diversity could be incorporated permanently into people's daily lives.

**Explicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites.** These were measured using the same feeling thermometer questions as in Study 2. However, Study 3 omitted the Attitudes

towards Ethnic Minorities scale since this scale had not shown reliable results in either of the two previous studies.

### **Affect**

As in Study 2, I asked participants how they were feeling at the moment. This time, however, participants were asked to answer just 5 questions regarding their current emotional state: “Right now, I feel (worried, anxious, calm, happy, angry)”. Participants rated to what extent they felt each emotion on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much so).

## **Results**

### **Description of the Sample**

The sample consisted of 206 females and 57 males, along with 6 participants who declined to provide an answer. Participants were an average of 19.98 years of age ( $SD = 1.58$ ). As with the previous two studies, these participants came from very well-educated families. Nearly 70% of participants had mothers with college degrees, with just below 60% having a bachelor's or a graduate degree. Similarly, 67% of participants' fathers had college degrees, and 60% of those were a bachelor's or higher.

Participants' answers on the MEIM (a 1-4 scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree) revealed that they were slightly skewed to the left for both ethnic identity search ( $\alpha = .66$ ,  $M = 2.48$ ,  $SD = .50$ ) and connection to ethnicity ( $\alpha = .87$ ,  $M = 2.96$ ,  $SD = .47$ ), suggesting that overall participants had spent some amount of time learning about their ethnic background and felt connected to their ethnic background. As before, the two subscales were highly correlated with each other ( $r = .62$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that participants' identity search is closely linked to their connection with their ethnic identity.

Participants were also asked to rate their political beliefs on a two scales of 1 to 5 from strongly Republican to strongly Democratic and from strongly conservative to strongly liberal.



These two items were averaged together ( $\alpha = .81$ ). Participants were again skewed to the left in terms of their political beliefs ( $M = 3.39$ ,  $SD = .73$ ), indicating that most of the participants were more liberal/Democratic in their beliefs.

### **Affirmation of Status Quo**

Participants' affirmation of the White status quo was used as a manipulation check in Study 3. Specifically, I was interested in whether reading the White Heritage Affirmation would lead to less affirmation of the status quo compared to reading the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation, with the No Affirmation condition falling somewhere in the middle. Affirmation of status quo was assessed using the average of 6 items ( $\alpha = .70$ ) which was used as the dependent variable in a Type of Affirmation (White Heritage, Multi-Ethnic Heritage, or None) x Role of Whites (Present vs. Absent) ANOVA. There were no significant effects of Affirmation ( $p = .64$ ), Role of Whites ( $p = .24$ ), nor an interaction of the two ( $p = .85$ ). See Table 7.

### **Explicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites**

Participants' explicit attitude was entered as the dependent variable in a Type of Affirmation x Role of Whites x Target Group (White or ethnic minority) ANOVA. This ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 263) = 71.30$ ,  $p < .001$ , such that participants preferred Whites ( $M = 78.00$ ,  $SE = 1.07$ ) over ethnic minorities ( $M = 68.16$ ,  $SE = 1.23$ ). There were no significant main effects of Role of Whites or Affirmation, and no significant interactions ( $ps > .16$ ). See Figure 10.

Recall that I hypothesized that when Whites were Present in multiculturalism the magnitude of ingroup preference should be the largest when participants read the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation text and relatively smaller when participants read the White Heritage Affirmation text, with the No Affirmation condition falling somewhere in-between. To test this hypothesis more directly, I conducted a series of interaction contrasts comparing the Role of Whites between two conditions at a time. See Table 10 for all contrast weights. For these

analyses, I computed a measure of each participant's ingroup preference by subtracting participants' attitudes towards minorities from attitudes towards Whites so that larger numbers reflect ingroup preference; I then used this measure as the dependent variable.

Contrast 10.1 revealed a marginally significant interaction,  $F(1, 263) = 3.47, p = .06$  and follow-up comparisons showed that when Whites were Present in the description of multiculturalism, participants' ingroup preference was stronger if White Heritage had previously been affirmed ( $M = 12.54, SE = 2.91$ ) than if Multi-Ethnic Heritage had previously been affirmed ( $M = 5.07, SE = 2.85$ ). When Whites were Absent in the description of multiculturalism, participants' ingroup preference did not vary as a function of Affirmation type (White Heritage Affirmation  $M = 7.19, SE = 2.79$ ; Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation  $M = 10.66, SE = 2.79; p = .38$ ). In other words, it appears that when White heritage was affirmed and given primacy followed by a description of multiculturalism that placed Whites on equal footing with ethnic minorities, White participants reacted by expressing *more* ingroup favoritism compared to the condition where the multi-ethnic heritage of the United States was affirmed in which case participants displayed *relatively less* ingroup favoritism. See Figure 10.

Contrasts 10.2 and 10.3 showed, as expected, that the No Affirmation control condition was not significantly different from either the White Heritage Affirmation condition or the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation Condition ( $ps > .35$ ). This result is interesting and in opposition to Hypothesis 6—I had originally predicted that affirming White heritage would reduce participants' compensatory motivation to accentuate the value of their ingroup. But in fact, it did the opposite.

### **Implicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites**

Prior to conducting any analyses, I removed participants with negative d-primes ( $n = 35$ , or 13% of the sample) or for having d-primes equal to zero ( $n = 9$ , or 3.3% of the sample). I also computed a measure of each participant's implicit attitude toward Whites by subtracting the d-prime for the White + negative block from the d-prime for the White + positive block. A similar

difference score was computed to capture each participant's implicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities by subtracting the d-prime for the minority + negative from the d-prime for the Minority + positive block. Larger difference scores mean a stronger implicit association between the target group and positive (compared to negative) words. I then conducted a Type of Affirmation x Role of Whites x Target Group mixed-model ANOVA where Target Group was the within-subjects variable, the others were between-subjects variables, and the difference of the d-prime scores on the Attitudes GNAT for each group were the dependent variable.

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 223) = 403.65, p < .001$ , such that participants liked Whites ( $M = .60, SE = .05$ ) significantly more than ethnic minorities ( $M = -.93, SE = .05$ ), a significant interaction between Target Group x Role of Whites,  $F(1, 223) = 8.02, p < .01$ , showed that while Whites were always liked more than ethnic minorities, this difference was especially pronounced when Whites were Present in the description of multiculturalism (Whites  $M = .72, SE = .08$ ; minorities  $M = -1.02, SE = .08$ ) versus Absent (Whites  $M = .48, SE = .08$ ; minorities  $M = -.83, SE = .08$ ). This occurred regardless of the affirmation. See Figure 11. No other effects were significant. Specifically, varying the type of affirmation participants received did not impact participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities or Whites ( $p = .21$ ).

To compare the degree to which participants evaluated each target group separately by valence, I re-conducted this ANOVA using d-primes for each block as repeated measures. This analysis showed an additional Target Group x Attitude Valence interaction,  $F(1, 223) = 403.65, p < .001$ , such that participants viewed Whites as significantly more positive ( $M = 1.90, SE = .05$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = 1.10, SE = .05$ ),  $p < .001$ , whereas they viewed ethnic minorities as significantly more negative ( $M = 2.03, SE = .05$ ) than Whites ( $M = 1.30, SE = .05$ ),  $p < .001$ . There was also a three-way Target Group x Attitude Valence x Role of Whites interaction,  $F(1, 223) = 8.02, p < .01$ , which was conceptually identical to the previous results above. That is, ethnic minorities were always seen as more negative than positive, but the difference is larger

when Whites were Present (Positive  $M = 1.00$ ,  $SE = .07$ , Negative  $M = 2.02$ ,  $SE = .08$ ;  $p < .001$ ) versus Absent (Positive  $M = 1.21$ ,  $SE = .07$ ; Negative  $M = 1.33$ ,  $SE = .07$ ;  $p < .001$ ). In mirror image fashion, Whites, who were always seen as more positive than negative, were implicitly liked even more when Whites were Present (Positive  $M = 1.99$ ,  $SE = .08$ ; Negative  $M = 1.27$ ,  $SE = .07$ ;  $p < .001$ ) vs. Absent (Positive  $M = 1.81$ ,  $SE = .08$ ; Negative  $M = 1.33$ ,  $SE = .07$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

I also conducted interaction contrasts in order to compare each Affirmation condition by Role of Whites to each other and to the control (see Table 10 for contrast weights). For these analyses I computed a difference score subtracting the sum of the White + Bad block and the minority + Good block from the sum of the White + Good block and the minority + Bad block so larger numbers equal more positive attitudes towards Whites relative to ethnic minorities. This difference score was used as the dependent variable in the contrasts. Unfortunately, there were no significant differences between conditions ( $ps > .35$ ).

### **Explicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites**

Participants' ratings of each target group again cohered: All 8 ratings of Whites yielded  $\alpha = .86$  and the 8 ratings of ethnic minorities  $\alpha = .87$ . As such, two separate indices were created for Whites and ethnic minorities. In order to assess participants' explicit beliefs about national inclusion, I conducted a Type of Affirmation x Role of Whites x Target Group ANOVA. Results revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 263) = 41.55$ ,  $p < .001$  such that participants saw Whites as being more American ( $M = 3.76$ ,  $SE = .04$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = 3.42$ ,  $SE = .04$ ). No other effects were significant ( $ps > .32$ ) See Figure 12. In other words, systematically varying the way in which multiculturalism was described did not affect participants' national inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites.

As with explicit attitudes, I also computed a measure of White inclusion by subtracting participants' national inclusion of minorities from inclusion of Whites so that larger numbers reflect greater inclusion of Whites; this score was used as the dependent variable for interaction

contrasts (see Table 10 for contrast weights). However, none of the contrasts yielded significant effects ( $ps > .21$ ).

### **Implicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites**

Prior to conducting any analyses, I removed participants with negative d-primes ( $n = 36$ , or 13.4% of the sample) or for having d-primes equal to zero ( $n = 13$ , or 4.8% of the sample). I also computed a measure of each participant's implicit attitude toward Whites by subtracting the d-prime for the White + foreign block from the d-prime for the White + American block. A similar difference score was computed to capture each participant's implicit attitudes toward ethnic minorities by subtracting the d-prime for the minority + foreign from the d-prime for the minority + American block. Larger difference scores mean a stronger implicit association between the target group and positive (compared to negative) words.

I then conducted a Type of Affirmation x Role of Whites x Target Group mixed-model ANOVA where the difference of the d-prime scores for each group were the dependent variable. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of Target Group,  $F(1, 214) = 249.39$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicating that participants saw Whites as being more American ( $M = .67$ ,  $SE = .06$ ) than ethnic minorities ( $M = -1.20$ ,  $SE = .06$ ). No other main effects or interactions were significant. See Figure 13. In other words, variations in the description of multiculturalism did not affect participants' implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities or Whites in the national group. Regardless of how multiculturalism was described, participants saw Whites as being more American than ethnic minorities. Similar results were obtained when each GNAT block was treated as a repeated measure in the ANOVA.

I conducted interaction contrasts in order to compare each Affirmation condition by Role of Whites to each other and to the control (see Table 10 for contrast weights). As with implicit attitudes, I computed a difference score subtracting the sum of the White + foreign block and the minority + American block from the sum of the White + American block and the minority +

foreign block so larger numbers equal greater inclusion of Whites relative to ethnic minorities. This difference score was used as the dependent variable in the contrasts. There were no significant differences between conditions ( $ps > .80$ ).

### **Affect**

An exploratory factor analysis showed that all 5 emotion items loaded onto a single factor with Happy and Calm reverse-coded. These were all averaged into a single measure of negative affect ( $\alpha = .73$ ) and treated as the dependent variable in an Affirmation x Role of Whites AVOVA using negative affect as the dependent variable. None of the effects were significant ( $ps > .08$ ). See Table 8 for means and standard deviations.

### **Immigration Policies**

I submitted each of the immigration policy items to an Affirmation x Role of Whites between-subjects ANOVA. Three of these policies showed significant effects, reported below.

**Dream Act.** The aim of the Dream Act is to provide undocumented immigrants who fulfill certain requirements a path to citizenship. The 3 x 2 ANOVA revealed a significant interaction of Affirmation x Role of Whites,  $F(2, 256) = 3.60, p < .05$ , which showed that when participants were in the No Affirmation condition, they were significantly more likely to vote for the act when Whites were Absent ( $M = 4.14, SE = .15$ ) rather than Present ( $M = 3.63, SE = .15$ ),  $p < .05$ . This difference in voting behavior disappeared when participants read either of the affirmations (White Heritage Affirmation: Whites Absent  $M = 3.88 SE = .15$ , White Present  $M = 4.11, SE = .15, p = .29$ ; Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation: Whites Absent  $M = 3.73 SE = .15$ , Whites Present  $M = 4.00 SE = .15, p = .20$ ). In other words, if no affirmation is provided, participants' behavioral intentions were less prejudiced if Whites are absent vs. present, but if an affirmation is included, the Role of Whites does not affect behaviors.

**Boosting Innovation Act.** The Boosting Innovation Act grants permanent residency or even automatic citizenship to immigrants who study in STEM fields upon the receipt of their professional degrees. The 3 x 2 ANOVA revealed a marginally significant two-way interaction,  $F(2, 257) = 2.78, p = .06$ , which showed that when participants were in the No Affirmation condition, they were significantly more likely to vote for the act when Whites were Absent ( $M = 3.55, SE = .15$ ) rather than Present ( $M = 2.88, SE = .15$ ),  $p < .01$ . This difference in voting behavior disappeared when participants read either of the affirmations (White Heritage Affirmation Whites Absent  $M = 3.34 SE = .16$ , White Present  $M = 3.30 SE = .16, p = .87$ ; Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation Whites Absent  $M = 3.21 SE = .16$ , Whites Present  $M = 3.25 SE = .16, p = .85$ ), which again demonstrates that if no affirmation is available, participants are less prejudiced if Whites are absent in multiculturalism (vs. present), but being given an additional piece of information about the history of the United States may negate the effects of making Whites present or absent in multiculturalism.

**The Education Documentation Act.** The Education Documentation Act would prevent undocumented immigrants from enrolling in schools in the United States. The 3 x 2 ANOVA showed a marginally significant main effect of Role of Whites,  $F(1, 256) = 3.20, p = .08$ , which revealed that regardless of affirmation, participants who read about multiculturalism when Whites were absent supported the act significantly less ( $M = 3.06, SE = .11$ ) than when Whites were present ( $M = 3.34, SE = .11$ ). In other words, if Whites were absent in multiculturalism, participants were more in favor of helping undocumented immigrants receive an education in the United States than when Whites were present in the description of multiculturalism. There were no other significant effects ( $ps > .25$ ).

## MEIM

As with Studies 1 and 2, I also investigated whether high ethnic identification moderated the effects of affirmations or the role of Whites on the attitudes or inclusion measures. Because

the two MEIM subscales were so highly correlated ( $r = .62$ ), I combined both subscales into a single ethnic identity item ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and conducted a series of regressions testing whether the MEIM score, Type of Affirmation, Role of Whites, and any combination of these variables significantly predicted participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities or Whites and inclusion of them in the national group.

**Explicit Attitudes towards Whites and ethnic minorities.** Participants' ethnic identity significantly predicted their attitudes towards Whites,  $B = 8.61$ ,  $SE = 2.44$ ,  $t(259) = 3.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , showing that the greater their ethnic identity, the more participants liked Whites as a group. No other effects were significant ( $ps > .73$ ). In other words, White participants who felt strongly ethnically identified were more likely to favor their ingroup while their ethnic identification was unrelated to their outgroup attitudes. Ethnic identity was unrelated to explicit attitudes towards minorities.

**Explicit inclusion of Whites and ethnic minorities in the national group.** This regression also showed a significant effect of ethnic identity,  $B = .44$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(259) = 5.15$ ,  $p < .001$  such that the greater participants' ethnic identity the more they saw Whites as American. As with attitudes, feeling strongly ethnically identified was associated with seeing one's ingroup as American, but did not affect national inclusion of the outgroup. There were no other significant effects. Furthermore, ethnic identity was not related to inclusion of ethnic minorities.

**Implicit inclusion and attitudes.** The regression revealed no significant effects of ethnic identity on implicit inclusion of neither group nor implicit attitudes toward either group.

### **Exploratory Variables**

I first created composite variables for each of the 4 exploratory dimensions (Enjoyment, Integration, Choice, and Feasibility) based on *a priori* assumptions about how these items would



hang together. The items Enjoyment, Integration, and Choice were relatively reliable.<sup>8</sup> The 2 Feasibility items did not cohere ( $\alpha = .50$ ) and were analyzed individually. Once the variables were created, they were used as the dependent variables in a series of Affirmation x Role of Whites ANOVAs, none of which showed statistically significant differences. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations.

### **Study 3 Discussion**

The goal of Study 3 was to manipulate the primacy of the White status quo in order to see if it might have an effect on people's attitudes towards ethnic minorities and inclusion of them in the national group. Results did not support Hypothesis 6 or 7.

However, analyses comparing the affirmation conditions to the control and to each other showed a pattern opposite to my predictions: The Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation produced less explicit ingroup favoritism compared to the White Heritage Affirmation. It may be that reading about multi-ethnic heritage may have reminded participants about the racial and ethnic pluralistic history of the United States and subsequently affected how they responded to the description of multiculturalism by making them more tolerant when Whites were presented as equal to ethnic minorities in the description of multiculturalism. In contrast, reading about the White heritage of the United States may have instead confirmed the primacy of Whites in the United States for participants, thus making them less tolerant and more biased toward ethnic minorities when Whites were presented as equal to ethnic minorities in the description of multiculturalism.

An important prediction of Study 3 was that participants would always see Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, and when Whites were present (rather than absent) in multiculturalism, this difference would be biggest when participants read the Multi-Ethnic

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<sup>8</sup> Enjoyment  $\alpha = .82$ ; Choice  $\alpha = .61$ ; Integration  $\alpha = .68$  with 1 item, "Multiculturalism is something people can go and experience when they want to." dropped.

Heritage Affirmation, smallest when they read the White Heritage Affirmation, and somewhere in-between when they read no affirmation. Hypothesis 7 was not supported, although I did find that participants saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites in multiculturalism and the Type of Affirmation. This result was somewhat surprising given that in both Studies 1 and 2 when Whites were present, participants saw Whites as significantly more American than ethnic minorities compared to when Whites were absent. It is unclear why this effect did not replicate. One possible explanation of this null result is that adding the heritage affirmations changed the way in which participants interpreted multiculturalism and the role of whites thereby eliminating the previously obtained effect.

Finally, it is important to note that participants' affirmation of the White status quo did not vary by Type of Affirmation or by the Role of Whites. Even if the affirmation manipulation did not work, I would have expected to find that participants affirmed the status quo significantly more when Whites were present compared to absent. Again, it is unclear as to why this effect did not replicate.

## CHAPTER 5

### GENERAL DISCUSSION

As a recategorization strategy, multiculturalism is intended to improve intergroup relations by allowing ethnic distinctiveness while at the same time promoting integration of the superordinate group. Yet empirical support for this goal has been mixed. The purpose of my dissertation was to investigate whether these mixed results were the result of subtle changes in the way in which multiculturalism and diversity are framed or discussed, and whether this in turn impacts how members of the dominant majority group view racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. Specifically, I sought to examine whether (a) explicitly including Whites within the framework of multiculturalism and (b) framing multiculturalism as a temporary or permanent experience produce systematic differences in White Americans' attitudes and beliefs about ethnic minorities and explains mixed findings in previous research.

Across two studies, I found that while participants always liked Whites more than they liked ethnic minorities, this difference was particularly large when multiculturalism was described as permanently integrating ethnic minorities into the national group and Whites were explicitly included (versus not mentioned) in that description. This difference did not occur when multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience (Studies 1 and 2). Second, while Whites were always seen as more American than ethnic minorities, this difference was larger when Whites were explicitly included in a description of multiculturalism compared to when they were not explicitly included (Studies 1 and 2). Third, these two studies also demonstrated that the stronger participants' ethnic identity, the more they liked ethnic minorities regardless of how multiculturalism was described. In addition, the stronger participants' ethnic identity, the more they viewed Whites as American, especially when multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience vs. a permanent one. Fourth, Study 2 also demonstrated that participants were

motivated to affirm the White status quo of the United States *more* in Permanent multiculturalism when Whites were present vs. absent whereas in Tourism multiculturalism, the role of Whites did not affect affirmation of the White status quo. Finally, I found that when participants read about the multi-ethnic heritage of the United States prior to reading about Permanent multiculturalism, they showed less explicit ingroup favoritism compared to when they read about the White heritage of the United States (Study 3).

### **The Role of Whites in Multiculturalism**

Previous research (Plaut et al., 2011; Unzueta & Binning, 2010) has shown that White perceivers see multiculturalism as excluding their (White) ingroup. Plaut and colleagues additionally found that if White perceivers saw themselves as included in multiculturalism, they were more likely to endorse diversity in the workplace. In contrast, my findings suggest that including Whites in multiculturalism may in fact come at a cost for ethnic minorities. In Studies 1 and 2 of my dissertation I found that when White ethnic groups were subtly included in descriptions of multiculturalism White participants showed *more* ingroup favoritism than when White ethnic groups were not mentioned. This same pattern also occurred in terms of the degree to which ethnic minorities were seen as authentically American. Specifically, when the description of multiculturalism subtly included White ethnic groups, participants were *less* likely to see ethnic minorities as American compared to when Whites were not mentioned in multiculturalism (Studies 1 and 2).

These results suggest that when Whites are made equal with ethnic minorities in multiculturalism by explicitly mentioning both groups, White individuals viewed ethnic minorities as threatening the primacy of Whites in American society, thus motivating them to push back against multiculturalism by expressing that Whites are more American than ethnic minorities. However, when Whites were *not* explicitly mentioned in multiculturalism, White individuals may have viewed ethnic minorities as being added to American society without

threatening their group's primacy, thus lessening the need to emphasize that Whites are more American than ethnic minorities.

Whereas Plaut et al. (2011) found that feeling included increased White support for multiculturalism, my data suggest that it may not make them like ethnic minorities any more or see them as equally American as their own ethnic group. Another difference between Plaut et al.'s work and mine is that whereas she focused on an organizational context, my work was focused on multiculturalism in a national context. It is possible that including Whites in multiculturalism or diversity might work better in a small organization context but may be seen differently if it entails redefining the nation. This is certainly a topic that should be pursued by future research given that explicitly including Whites in multiculturalism or not mentioning them is such a small difference with the possibility for big impact.

Importantly, this work also demonstrates for the first time how multiculturalism affects the national inclusion of ethnic minorities. Again, it depends on the way in which multiculturalism is described: If Whites are present in multiculturalism, ethnic minorities are seen as significantly less American than Whites. If Whites are absent in multiculturalism, the difference in national inclusion of Whites and minorities becomes much smaller or even disappears so that Whites and ethnic minorities are seen as similarly American.

### **Multiculturalism: Tourist Experience or Everyday Life?**

Surprisingly, the type of multiculturalism described to participants did not, by itself, influence their attitudes towards ethnic minorities or inclusion of them in the nation. However, a combination of the type of multiculturalism and the role of Whites in multiculturalism did affect participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Specifically, when multiculturalism was described as the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into American life and Whites were present in the description, ingroup favoritism was especially large compared to when the description of multiculturalism was permanent but Whites were not mentioned in it. However

when multiculturalism was framed as a brief tourism experience, the presence or absence of Whites did not affect participants' ingroup favoritism.

This finding for Permanent Multiculturalism was somewhat surprising. One might expect that when Whites encounter a version of multiculturalism that emphasizes the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into mainstream White American society without mentioning their own group they may feel that such a description excludes people like them, which might result in greater ingroup favoritism in this condition compared to others. This prediction is particularly likely given that prior research suggests that Whites feel excluded by multiculturalism (Plaut et al., 2011) which may activate a need to reaffirm their place in society as the dominant group (i.e., Hypothesis 1b). But across Studies 1 and 2, empirical evidence instead showed that when multiculturalism was described as the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into American life and Whites were *present* in the description, ingroup favoritism was especially large compared to when Whites were *not mentioned*. However when multiculturalism was framed as a brief tourism experience, the presence or absence of Whites did not affect participants' ingroup favoritism.

One possible explanation as to why I found support for Hypothesis 1a over 1b is that when multiculturalism was framed as the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into American society *and* Whites were present, White individuals may have seen multiculturalism as permanently and *equally* including White and non-White ethnic groups' customs and traditions in American society – a vast change from the current White American status quo. This threat to the White status quo may have led White individuals to push back by emphasizing ingroup preference compared to when Whites were not included in multiculturalism. When multiculturalism was framed as the permanent integration of ethnic minorities into American society and Whites were *not* present in it, Whites may have instead viewed multiculturalism as adding non-White ethnic groups' customs and traditions on top of the presumed mainstream White American customs and traditions without threatening the primacy of Whites, thus lessening

the need for ingroup preference. I discuss the role of status quo and feeling that the White status quo is threatened in the section below.

In addition, it is important to note that multiculturalism is usually talked about as something for ethnic minorities only. In American society, multiculturalism is usually a concept asking the White majority group to make space for ethnic minority group members to celebrate their own cultures and traditions or speak their own languages. This framing of multiculturalism is familiar in today's society, and it may have been surprising or unusual for participants to read about a type of multiculturalism that included their own White ethnic groups in addition to non-White ethnic minority groups. The novelty of the unfamiliar framing may also have affected these findings.

### **Motivation to Affirm the White Status Quo**

One possible explanation for my results was that when multiculturalism threatens to upend the existing mainstream (White) status quo in society, White individuals may react negatively to it, leading to a compensatory motivation to affirm the status quo. I found that participants' motivation to affirm the status quo was strongest in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present (vs. absent), and did not vary by role of Whites in Tourism Multiculturalism (Study 2). This finding was consistent with my predictions and with research suggesting that people are more likely to subscribe to system justifying beliefs when the societal status quo is under threat (Jost et al., 2010). However, people's motivation to affirm the status quo did not mediate the relationship between the manipulated framing of multiculturalism and participants' attitudes toward racial outgroups or their acknowledgement of these groups as legitimately American (Study 2).

In Study 3 I manipulated the primacy of the White status quo in American society by either emphasizing the White heritage of the U.S. or the multi-ethnic heritage of the United States. I found that when participants read about the multi-ethnic heritage of the U.S. prior to

reading about multiculturalism, they showed less explicit ingroup favoritism compared to reading about the White heritage of the nation (Study 3). One possible explanation for these effects is that reading about the multi-ethnic heritage of the U.S. may have served to remind participants that ethnic minorities and Whites all immigrated to the United States and therefore the U.S. should equally include all groups' customs and traditions. This reminder may have served as a racially inclusive history lesson thus reducing bias against minorities when participants read about Permanent Multiculturalism in which all racial/ethnic groups were mentioned equally. In contrast, reading about the White heritage of the U.S. may have served as a White colonial history lesson and given participants permission to see U.S. heritage as preeminently White, thus increasing bias against minorities when participant read the version of Permanent Multiculturalism where Whites and ethnic minorities were on a level playing field.

This explanation is consistent with previous work (e.g., Jost et al., 2010; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Major et al., 2002) which demonstrates that people are motivated to justify existing status hierarchies. When participants read about the White heritage of the United States, it may have reinforced their beliefs that the current societal structure is legitimate, fair, natural, and even desirable. Therefore, reading about Permanent Multiculturalism with Whites and ethnic minorities included equally would cause threat to the status quo and subsequently more bias towards minorities compared to the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation condition. In contrast, when participants read about the multi-ethnic heritage of the United States, it may have presented a reasonable explanation as to why a social structure which equally includes Whites and ethnic minorities would be legitimate (e.g., both groups have a history of immigration to the U.S.), thus reading about Permanent Multiculturalism with Whites and ethnic minorities included equally may have lessened status quo threat and bias towards minorities.

### **The Role of Ethnic Identity**

Recall that a secondary goal of the current research was to explore the role of ethnic



identity in participants' responses to multiculturalism. In Studies 1 and 2 I found that the greater participants' ethnic identity, the more they liked ethnic minorities regardless of how multiculturalism was described; in addition, the more ethnically identified participants were, the more they viewed Whites as American, especially when multiculturalism was described as a temporary experience vs. a permanent one. This finding was somewhat surprising given that several studies have previously found that highly ethnically identified participants are more likely to react negatively to multiculturalism. It may be, however, that being highly ethnically identified for the White participants in the current study means that participants are familiar with and connected to a history of immigration, thus making them more open to liking and including non-White ethnic group members. Of course, this possibility needs to be tested directly in future research.

### **Limitations of the Present Research**

One limitation of the current research is the inconsistent findings for the national inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites. The findings for the effect of multiculturalism on the national inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites were different in Studies 1 compared to Study 2. In Study 1, participants always viewed Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, but this difference was largest in permanent multiculturalism when Whites were present vs. absent, whereas inclusion did not vary by the role of Whites when multiculturalism was described as temporary. In Study 2, participants always viewed Whites as more American than ethnic minorities, but this difference was largest when Whites were present vs. absent, regardless of the type of multiculturalism. One possible explanation for these inconsistencies is that the manipulation changed between studies, thereby affecting participants' responses. Future research is needed to clarify these results.

Relatedly, across Studies 1 and 2 results showed that the framing of multiculturalism affected attitudes toward ethnic minority groups more than national inclusion of the same groups. That is, the pattern of results for both attitudes and inclusion was the same in Study 1 while in Study 2 the findings diverged. These data seem to suggest that greater liking for an ethnic minority group does not necessarily extend to greater national inclusion. But it is still not clear *why* variations in multiculturalism affect attitudes toward ethnic minority groups more consistently than national inclusion of the same groups.

A second limitation of this research is that the descriptions of multiculturalism used in these studies may have overemphasized nationalism and the positive distinctiveness of the United States relative to other countries which might have influenced the current findings. For example, all manipulations, including the control condition, began by stating that there are many reasons to be proud of the United States. Inserting nationalism or patriotism into the manipulation may have increased the likelihood that participants would favor their White ingroup over ethnic minorities (which was consistently found across all three studies). Future studies should remove this common introduction from all manipulations to see what the effects of the different framings of multiculturalism may be without priming national pride.

A third limitation is the nature of the control condition used in this research. Given that the control condition was rarely significantly different from all experimental conditions for all the dependent variables, it is possible that the control condition was also excessively nationalistic. In future research it would be prudent to create a no-prime control condition in order to truly understand the effects of the different framings of multiculturalism compared to not receiving any information at all.

A fourth limitation is that I make the assumption that explicitly mentioning Whites (vs. not mentioning them) in descriptions of multiculturalism as I did made participants feel more included. However, I did not actually measure participants' feelings of inclusion in

multiculturalism as Plaut et al. (2011) did. If participants did not feel more included, then my results are not in contrast to those from Plaut et al. However, if including Whites in the description of multiculturalism helped them to feel personally included in multiculturalism and they subsequently acted more negatively, then this finding is intriguing and one worthy of pursuing in the future: why, if they felt included by multiculturalism, did participants react more negatively toward ethnic minorities?

A final limitation has to do with the sample used. All participants were White college students; most of them were female. Given the homogeneity of the sample, the results may or may not generalize to a broader population. I chose to use all White participants to test how different types of multiculturalism affect majority group members' reactions to minority group members because as the majority, White Americans define mainstream American culture and have disproportionate access to socioeconomic and political resources compared to other racial groups. Of course there are big individual differences in White perceivers' reactions to multiculturalism which I tried to capture by measuring participants' ethnic identity using the MEIM. In retrospect, the MEIM may not have been the best measure to use because it may not have captured individual differences in participants' awareness of White privilege, which in turn may better predict their comfort with, and reactions to, multiculturalism.

## **Conclusions**

In the United States today, as the number of racial and ethnic minority groups grows, we are in need of a way to truly unite the nation. One possible way to do so is through multiculturalism: a recategorization strategy which orients perceivers to focus on a superordinate identity with common goals (i.e., American) while acknowledging and appreciating the differences between each subgroup.

The current work suggests that mixed results from previous research may in fact be due to differences in the ways in which participants were thinking about multiculturalism and

diversity, such as whether multiculturalism was seen as including or excluding Whites, and whether it was viewed as a temporary or permanent institution. In addition, my dissertation adds to the empirical literature on multiculturalism by providing a test of how multiculturalism influences White individuals' inclusion of ethnic minorities in the national group.

Although more work remains to be done in order to come to any firm conclusions regarding the effectiveness of multiculturalism and how to best describe it in everyday discourse, all three studies have a similar take-home message: the way in which we discuss multiculturalism and diversity is extremely important. Seemingly small details, such as the explicit inclusion of Whites, can make a big difference in how accepting White perceivers are of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, on a practical level, my findings may be particularly useful to government officials or policy makers hoping to better integrate ethnic minorities into the concept of "American," as well as those hoping to decrease prejudice between the White majority group and ethnic minority groups. It appears that not acknowledging the majority group may lead to better integration and national inclusion of ethnic minorities as well as less prejudice towards them.

Table 1.

Means and standard deviations for the Study 1 manipulation check. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Permanent Multiculturalism Manipulation Check	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.60	.64
	Tourism Whites Present	3.80	.82
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.91	.72
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.67	.78
	Control	3.63	.92
“Multiculturalism is experienced on specific special occasions,”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.41	1.00
	Tourism Whites Present	3.58	.89
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.36	1.06
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.39	.93
	Control	3.20	.98
“Multiculturalism is about experiencing multiethnic foods and festivals.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.39	.80
	Tourism Whites Present	3.76	.81
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.64	.77
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.41	.83
	Control	3.00	.92
Role of Whites in Multiculturalism	Tourism, Whites Absent	4.07	.57
	Tourism Whites Present	4.06	.75
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.07	.62
	Permanent, Whites Present	4.07	.66
	Control	4.07	.68

Note. Participants who read a permanent construal of multiculturalism where Whites were absent described multiculturalism as permanently integrated into American society more so than others who read a tourism construal of multiculturalism where Whites were absent. Furthermore, the item “Multiculturalism is about experiencing multiethnic foods and festivals,” showed that participants endorsed this item much more after reading about Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites were Present than Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present, but there was no difference in endorsement of this item after reading about Tourism vs. Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent. No other items in the table are significantly different.

Table 2.

Means and standard deviations for the Study 1 Explicit Attitudes variables. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Prejudice towards minorities	Tourism, Whites Absent	1.93	.65
	Tourism Whites Present	2.00	.64
	Permanent, Whites Absent	1.86	.65
	Permanent, Whites Present	4.02	.61
	Control	2.05	.65
Minorities are un-American	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.34	.71
	Tourism Whites Present	2.47	.67
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.14	.79
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.35	.67
	Control	2.44	.82
Comfort with minorities as equals	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.30	1.19
	Tourism Whites Present	3.25	1.35
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.53	1.32
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.38	1.20
	Control	3.45	1.33
Minority parochialism	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.13	.81
	Tourism Whites Present	3.23	.76
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.92	.79
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.03	.80
	Control	3.08	.87

Note. In Minority parochialism, participants were more likely to judge minorities as self-segregated from the American mainstream if they had read about Tourism Multiculturalism than Permanent Multiculturalism. There were no other significant differences.

Table 3.

Means and standard deviations for the Study 1 exploratory variables. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Enjoyment	Tourism, Whites Absent	4.13	.50
	Tourism Whites Present	4.14	.64
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.31	.54
	Permanent, Whites Present	4.13	.64
	Control	4.09	.57
Choice	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.03	.46
	Tourism Whites Present	3.10	.44
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.07	.49
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.08	.43
	Control	2.93	.59
Integration	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.90	.50
	Tourism Whites Present	3.00	.40
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.98	.24
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.98	.54
	Control	3.90	.33
Feasibility	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.07	.37
	Tourism Whites Present	2.98	.32
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.14	.35
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.04	.45
	Control	3.03	.36

Note. There were no significant differences between conditions on any item.

Table 4.

Means and standard deviations for the Study 2 manipulation check. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Multiple cultures (including our own) should be permanently integrated into American life,”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.40	.78
	Tourism Whites Present	3.30	1.09
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.68	1.02
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.64	.94
	Control	2.75	1.35
“... We can make languages from other cultures a permanent part of American life is by having books of multiple languages available in public libraries.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.92	1.34
	Tourism Whites Present	2.87	1.53
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.63	1.28
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.68	1.24
	Control	2.55	1.48
“... we can learn common phrases in languages spoken by ethnic groups in the U.S. while keeping English as the primary language.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.56	1.22
	Tourism Whites Present	2.55	1.32
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.14	1.12
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.78	1.35
	Control	2.49	1.40
“... freedom to visit various cultural events and activities other than our own, and always have the option to return home to our own cultural context.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.86	.97
	Tourism Whites Present	3.85	1.12
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.93	.98
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.90	.93
	Control	2.85	1.28
“Multiculturalism includes everyone in the U.S. regardless of what ethnic and religious events they celebrate or what language they speak.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.82	1.12
	Tourism Whites Present	3.96	1.06
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.09	.99
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.90	.91
	Control	3.05	1.52
“The reason we have multiculturalism in American is to include ethnic minorities in our culture.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.10	.97
	Tourism Whites Present	3.19	1.16
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.39	1.15
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.38	1.16
	Control	2.62	1.19

Note. On the first two items participants in the Permanent conditions endorsed the items more than those in Tourism and the control. Item 3 was endorsed more by participants in the Tourism than those in Permanent conditions and the control. The control was additionally different from Permanent, Whites Absent. On item 4, participants in all experimental conditions endorsed the item more than those in the control. Items 5 and 6 showed no significant differences.



Table 5.

Means and standard deviations for participants' reported affect in Study 2. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale; higher numbers equal greater anxiety.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Affect	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.15	.84
	Tourism Whites Present	2.46	.82
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.27	.82
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.17	.77
	Control	2.34	.85

Note. There were no significant differences between any of the conditions.

Table 6.

Means and standard deviations for the Study 2 exploratory variables

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Enjoyment	Tourism, Whites Absent	4.22	.53
	Tourism Whites Present	4.12	.58
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.26	.58
	Permanent, Whites Present	4.13	.47
	Control	4.22	.46
Integration	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.93	.68
	Tourism Whites Present	3.76	.77
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.81	.86
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.79	.74
	Control	3.89	.64
Feasibility	Tourism, Whites Absent	4.28	.62
	Tourism Whites Present	4.22	.62
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.28	.64
	Permanent, Whites Present	4.12	.34
	Control	4.28	.58
“Multiculturalism is something I can choose to participate in.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.63	.94
	Tourism Whites Present	3.91	.82
	Permanent, Whites Absent	4.09	.71
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.72	.86
	Control	3.82	.84
“Multiculturalism is something that is being forced on me.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.12	.92
	Tourism Whites Present	2.15	1.08
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.09	.69
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.30	.93
	Control	2.18	.96
“I feel free to participate in other cultures if I want to.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	3.60	.90
	Tourism Whites Present	3.68	.87
	Permanent, Whites Absent	3.53	.97
	Permanent, Whites Present	3.68	.91
	Control	3.45	.98
“I feel that other cultures are forcing me to notice them.”	Tourism, Whites Absent	2.20	.88
	Tourism Whites Present	2.36	1.09
	Permanent, Whites Absent	2.09	.81
	Permanent, Whites Present	2.34	.85
	Control	2.41	1.02

Note. Item 4, “Multiculturalism is something I can choose to participate in,” showed that when multiculturalism was described as a permanent experience and Whites were absent, participants agreed with the statement significantly more than when Whites were present. There were no other significant differences.

Table 7.

Means and standard deviations for Affirmation of Status Quo in Study 3. Larger numbers indicate greater status quo affirmation.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Affirmation of Status Quo	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.79	.67
	Whites Present	2.93	.61
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.85	.71
	Whites Present	2.97	.88
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.91	.77
	Whites Present	2.97	.77

Note. There were no significant differences between conditions.

Table 8.

Means and standard deviations for participants' reported affect in Study 3. Questions were answered on a 1-5 scale; higher numbers equal greater anxiety.

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Affect	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.11	.72
	Whites Present	2.01	.70
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.03	.66
	Whites Present	2.11	.75
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	2.23	.78
	Whites Present	1.84	.64

Note. There were no significant differences between conditions.

Table 9.

## Means and standard deviations for the Study 2 exploratory variables

Item	Condition	Means	SDs
Enjoyment	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.14	.55
	Whites Present	4.05	.56
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.23	.50
	Whites Present	4.03	.65
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.03	.65
	Whites Present	4.28	.52
Integration	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.70	.74
	Whites Present	3.63	.66
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.78	.60
	Whites Present	3.77	.68
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.76	.73
	Whites Present	3.82	.74
Choice	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.60	.63
	Whites Present	3.63	.63
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.87	.52
	Whites Present	3.59	.77
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	3.76	.59
	Whites Present	3.72	.72
“I believe it is possible for the United States to be multicultural.”	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.43	.77
	Whites Present	4.21	.60
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.30	.59
	Whites Present	4.35	.65
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	4.24	.65
	Whites Present	4.47	.63
“Multiculturalism is unrealistic.”	No Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	1.62	.54
	Whites Present	1.91	.57
	White Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	1.74	.61
	Whites Present	1.72	.67
	Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation		
	Whites Absent	1.84	.77
	Whites Present	1.67	.71

Note. There were no significant differences between conditions.

Table 10. Contrast weights for the interaction contrasts conducted in Study 3.

Contrast 10.1		Comparing the difference in Role of Whites for White Heritage and Multi-Ethnic Heritage		
	White Heritage	Multi-Ethnic Heritage	No Affirmation	
Whites Absent (1)	1	-1	0	
Whites Present (-1)	-1	1	0	
Contrast 10.2		Comparing the difference in Role of Whites for White Heritage and No Affirmation		
	White Heritage	Multi-Ethnic Heritage	No Affirmation	
Whites Absent	1	0	-1	
Whites Present	-1	0	1	
Contrast 10.3		Comparing the difference in Role of Whites for No Affirmation and Multi-Ethnic Heritage		
	White Heritage	Multi-Ethnic Heritage	No Affirmation	
Whites Absent	0	1	-1	
Whites Present	0	-1	1	

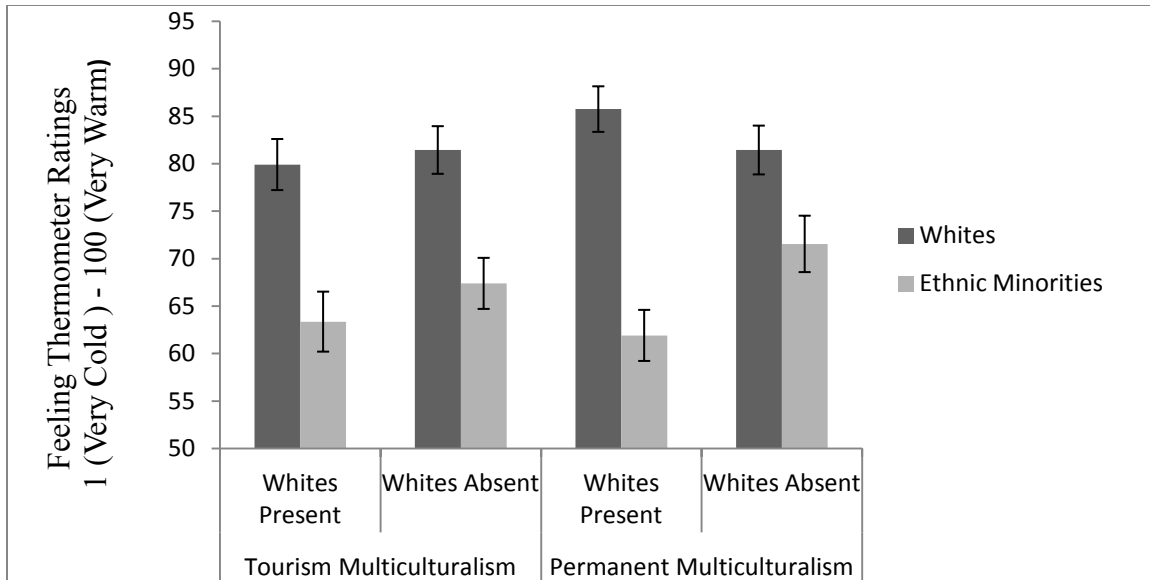


Figure 1a. Feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always preferred Whites over ethnic minorities, but especially in the Permanent Multiculturalism condition when Whites were present compared to when Whites were absent. In Tourism Multiculturalism Whites were always liked more than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites.

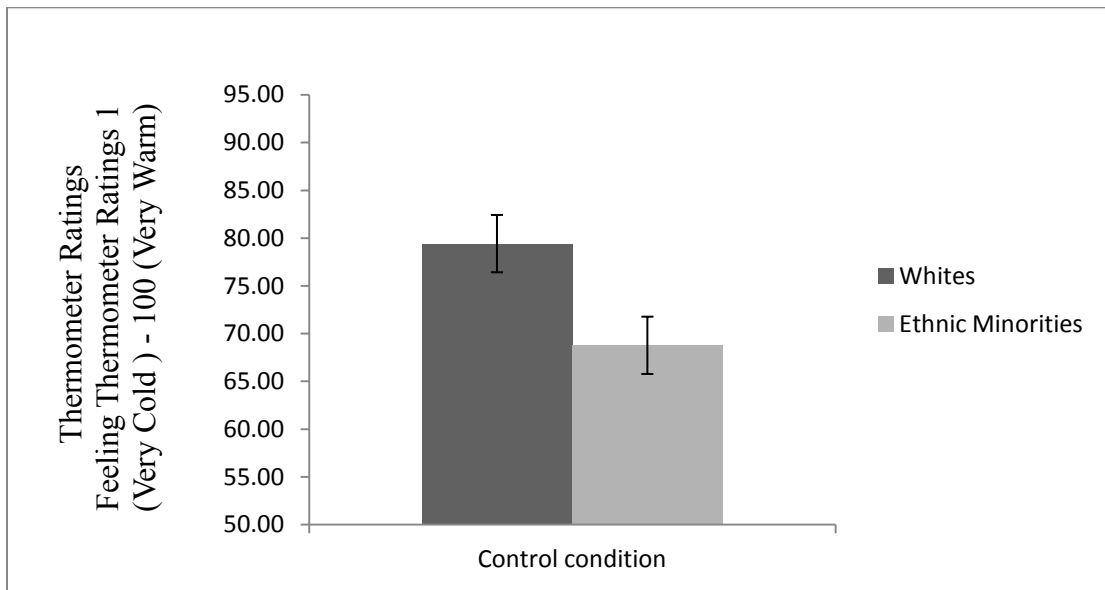


Figure 1b . Feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities and Whites in the control condition. Whites were liked marginally more in Permanent Multiculturalism where White were than in the control condition and ethnic minorities were liked marginally less than the control in the same condition.

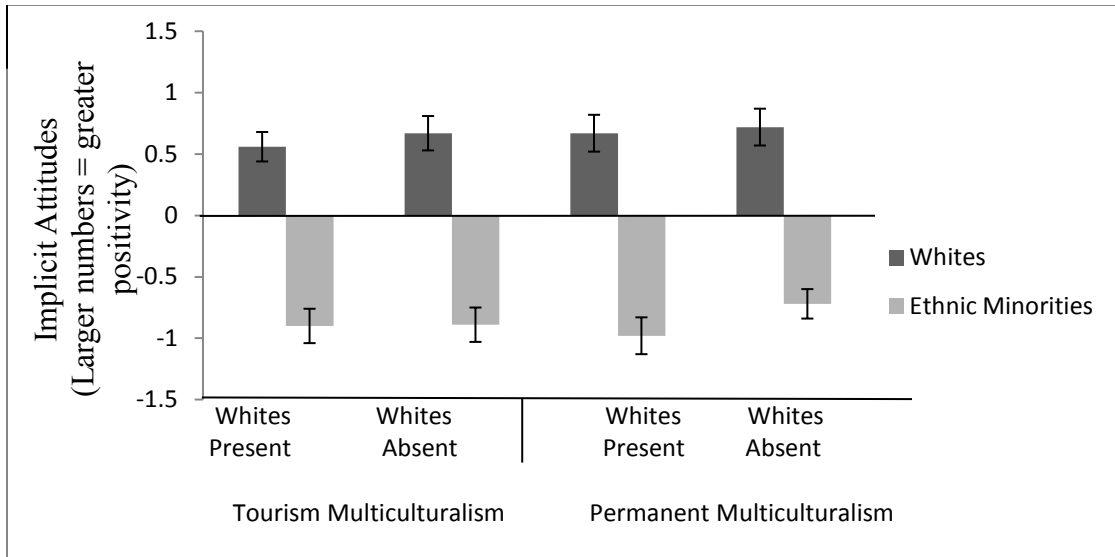


Figure 2a. Implicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always viewed Whites significantly more positively than ethnic minorities. This difference did not significantly vary between conditions.

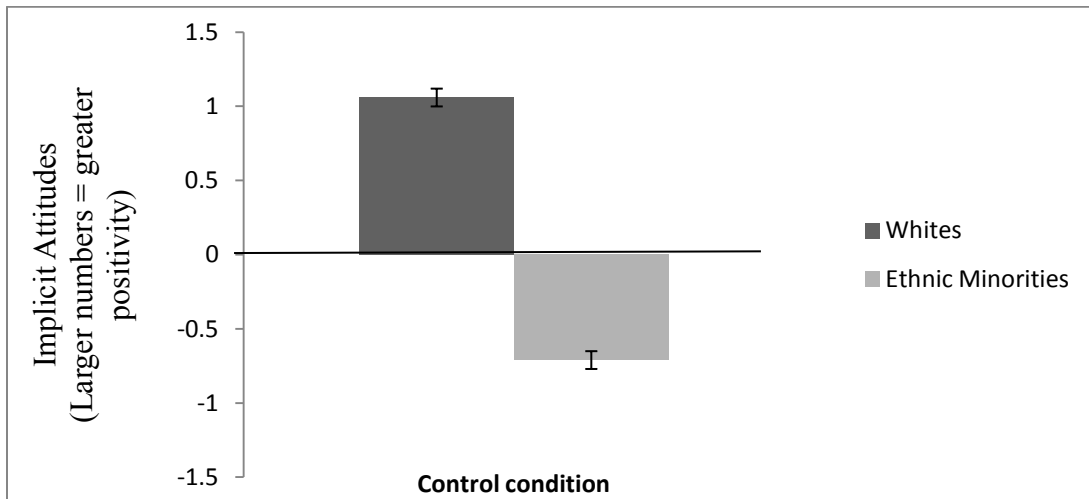


Figure 2b. Implicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites in the control condition. Participants in all experimental conditions who had read about multiculturalism expressed significantly less positive attitudes towards Whites than participants in the control condition/. Participants' attitudes towards ethnic minorities did not vary by condition.



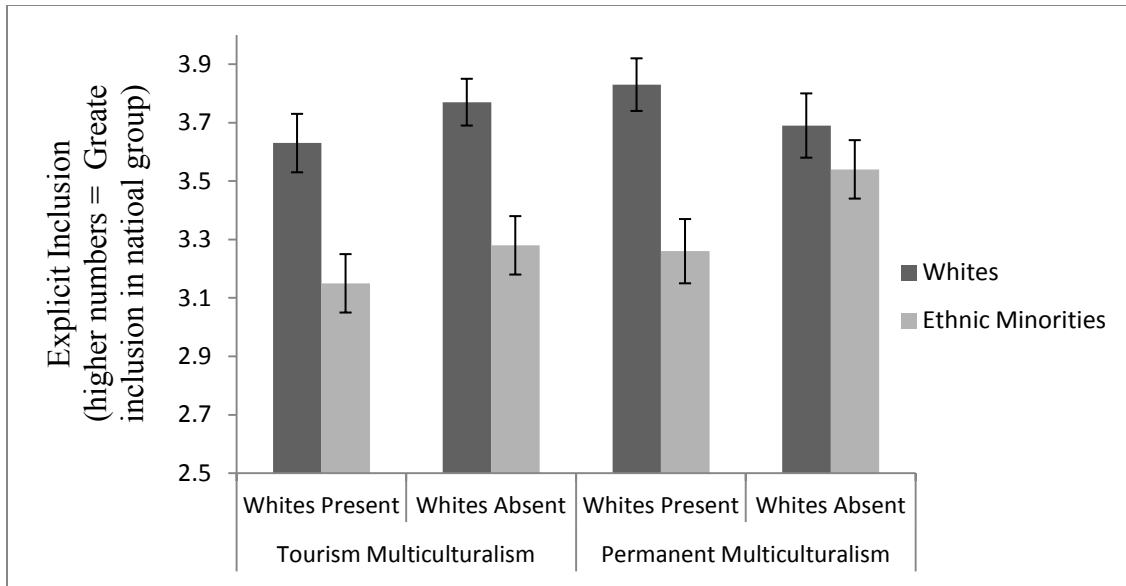


Figure 3a. Explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group. Participants always saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities; this difference was significantly larger in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present compared to when Whites were absent. In Tourism Multiculturalism, Whites were always seen as significantly more American than ethnic minorities, regardless of the Role of Whites

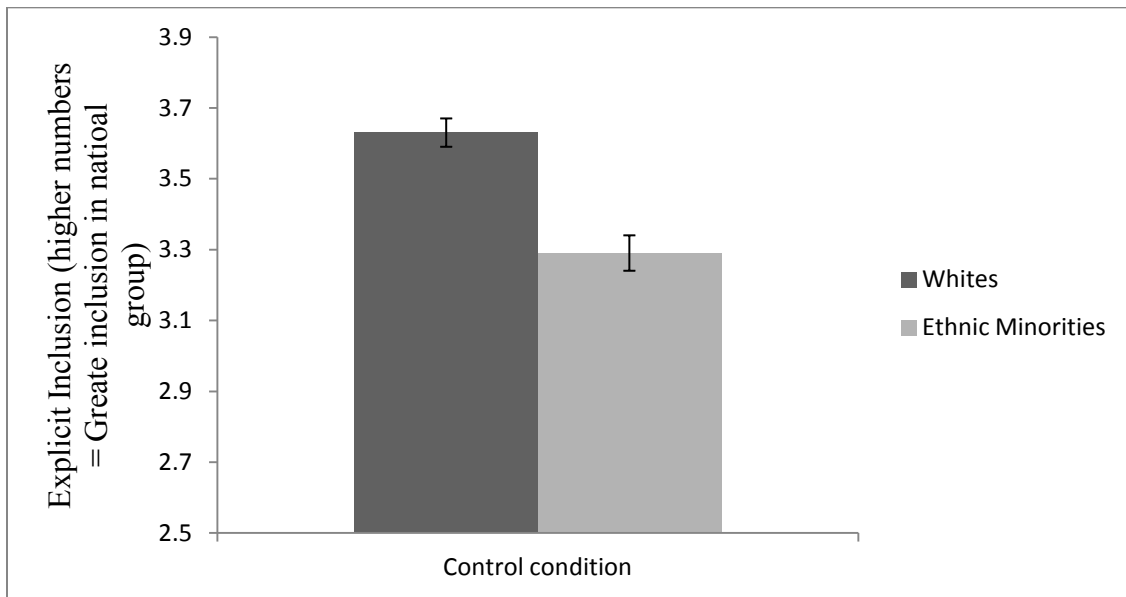


Figure 3b. Explicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group in the control condition. Ethnic minorities were seen as marginally more American in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent compared to the control condition

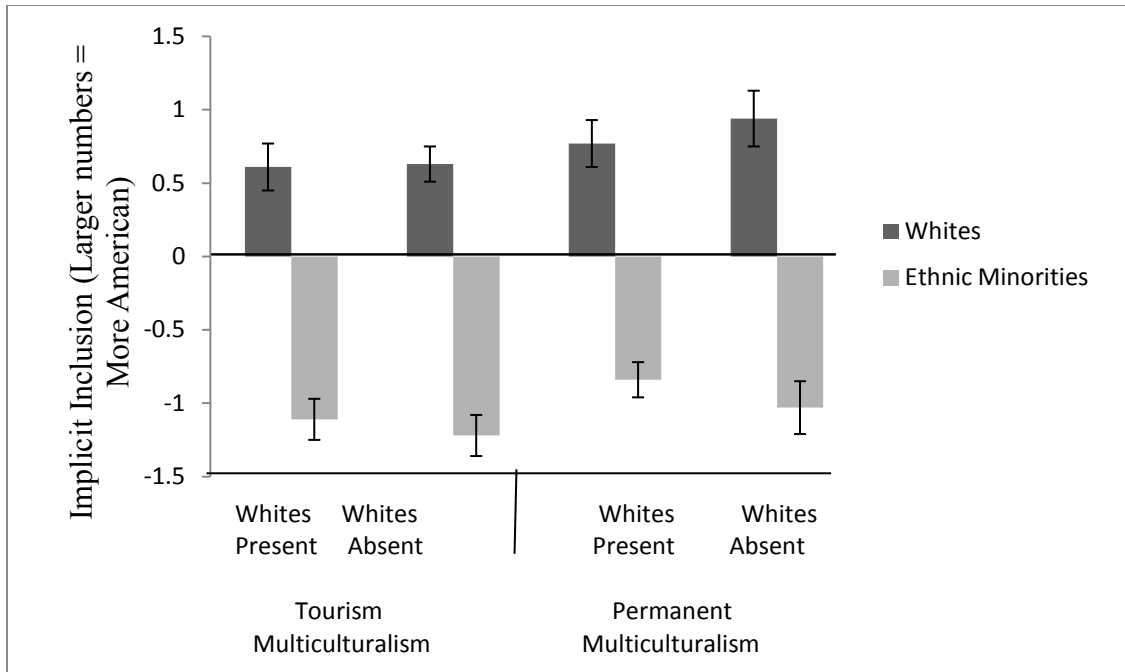


Figure 4a. Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always viewed Whites as significantly more American than ethnic minorities. This difference did not significantly vary between conditions.

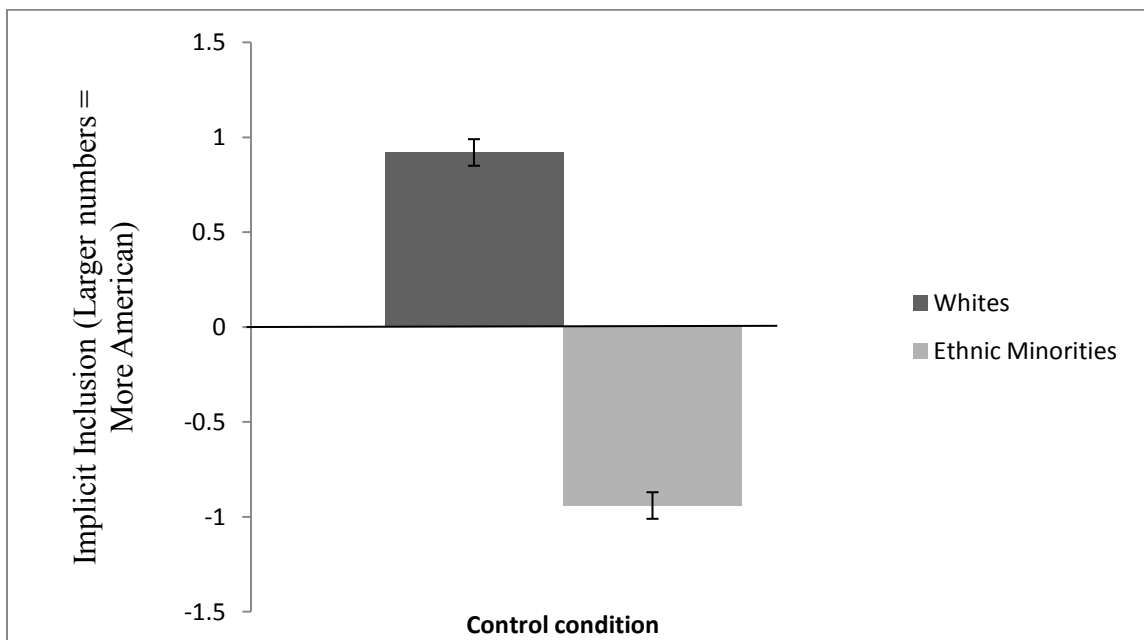


Figure 4b. Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the control condition. The control condition did not significantly differ from any of the experimental conditions.

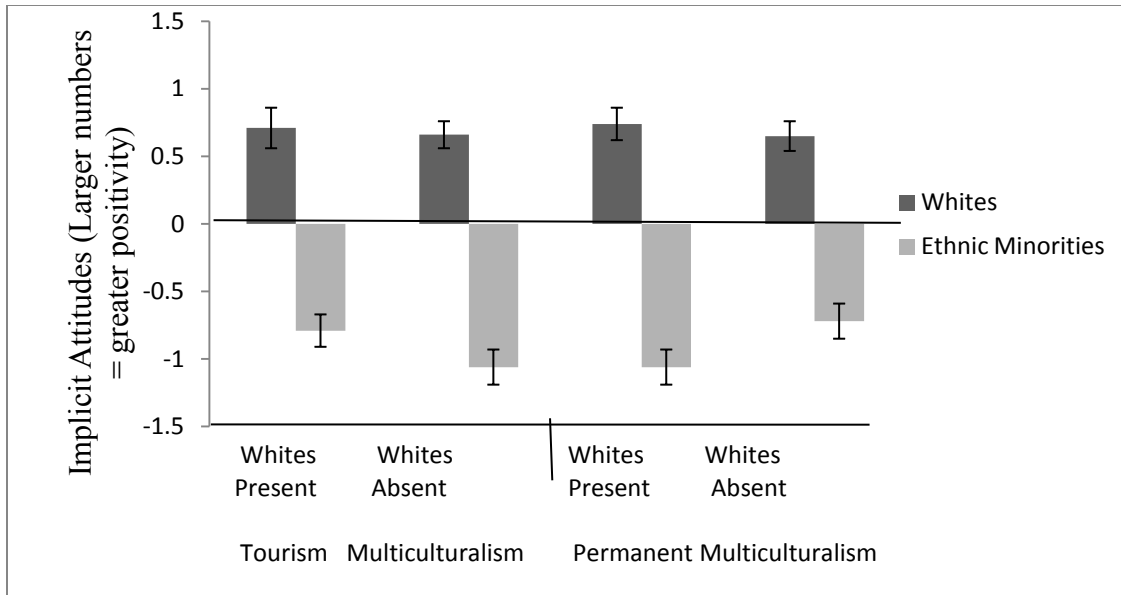


Figure 5a. Implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always liked Whites more than ethnic minorities, but this difference was greater in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present compared to when Whites were absent. Attitudes in Tourism multiculturalism did not vary by the role of Whites.

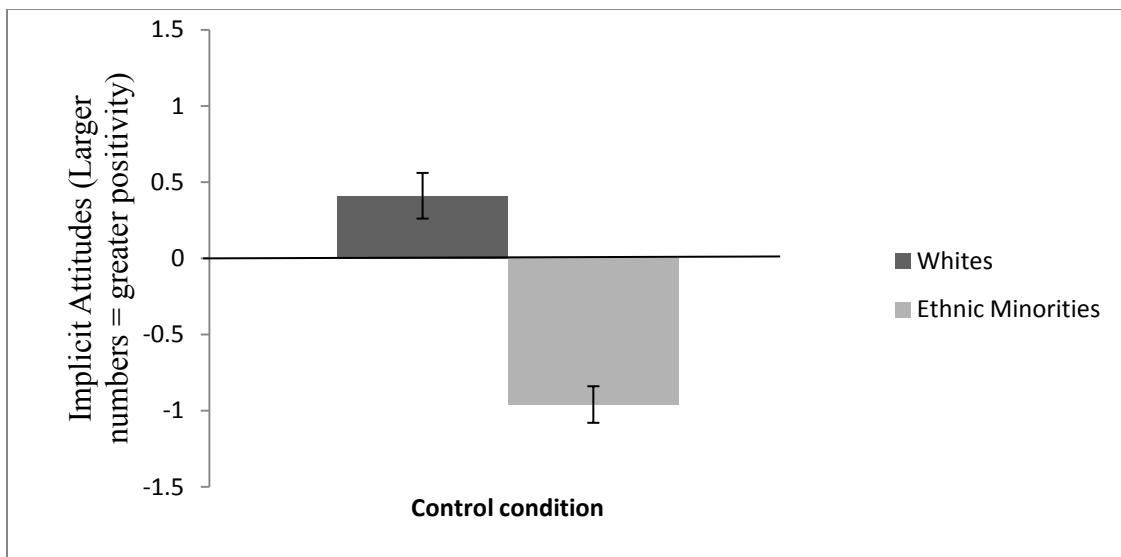


Figure 5b. Implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites in the control condition. There were no significant differences between the control condition and the experimental conditions.

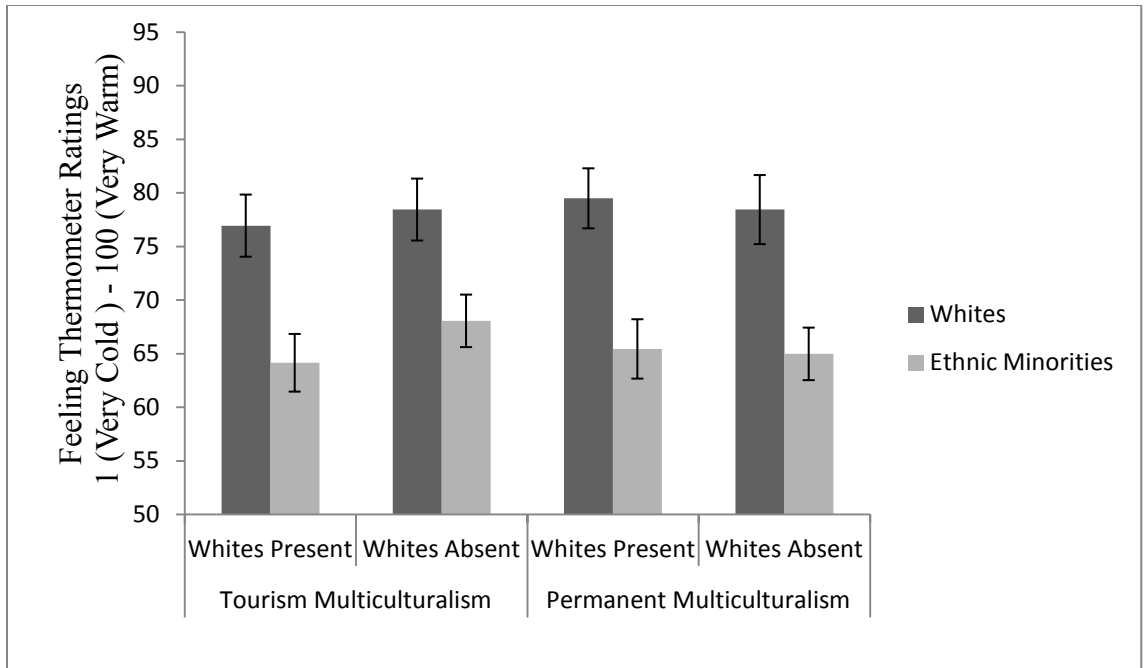


Figure 6a. Feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always liked Whites more than ethnic minorities, but this difference did not vary by condition.

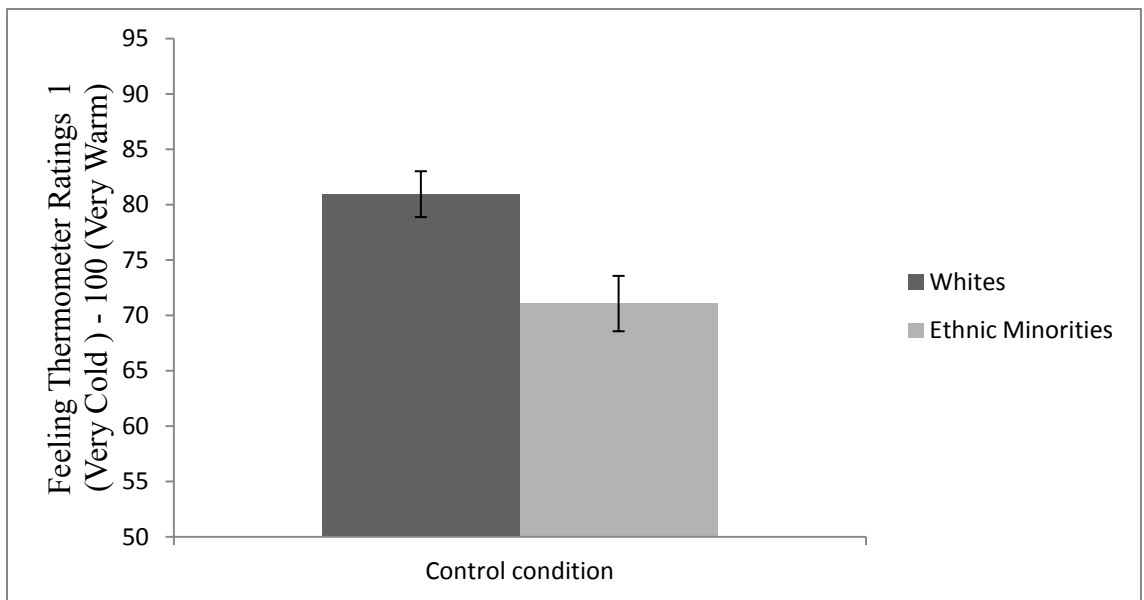


Figure 6b. Feeling thermometer ratings of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants felt significantly less positively towards the ethnic minorities) in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent than in the control condition. Participants also felt marginally less positively towards in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent than in the control condition.

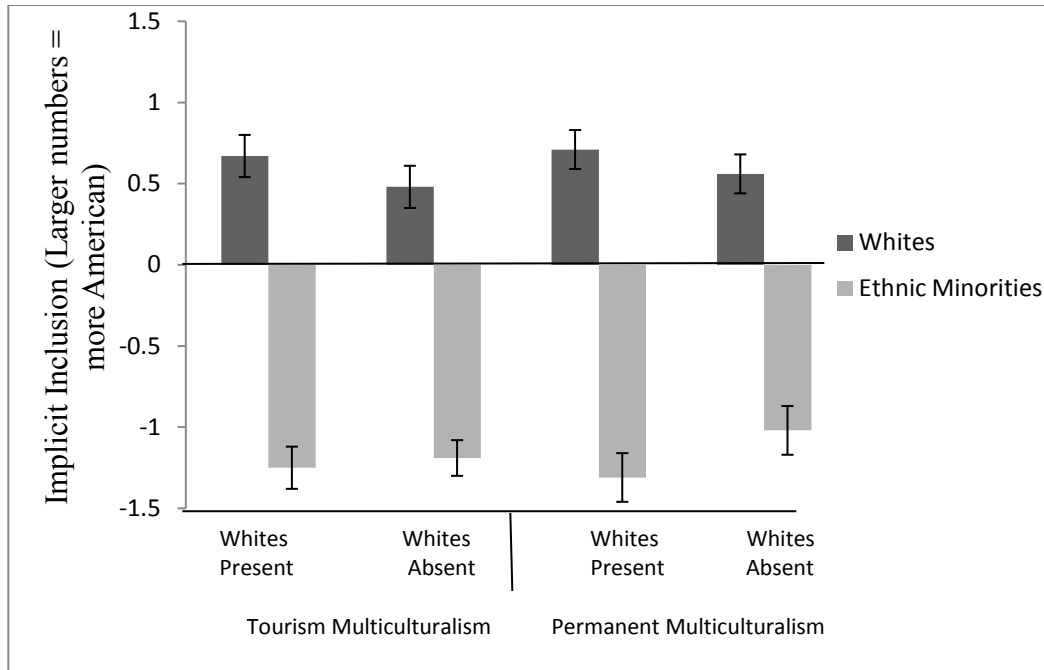


Figure 7a. Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always preferred Whites over ethnic minorities; this difference was especially large when Whites were present compared to absent.

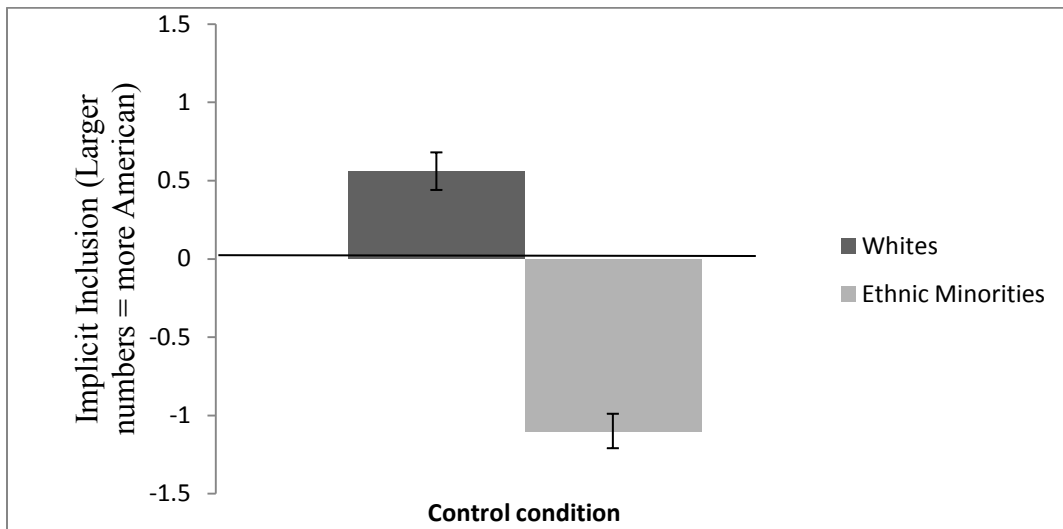


Figure 7b. Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the control condition. The experimental conditions were not significantly different from the control.

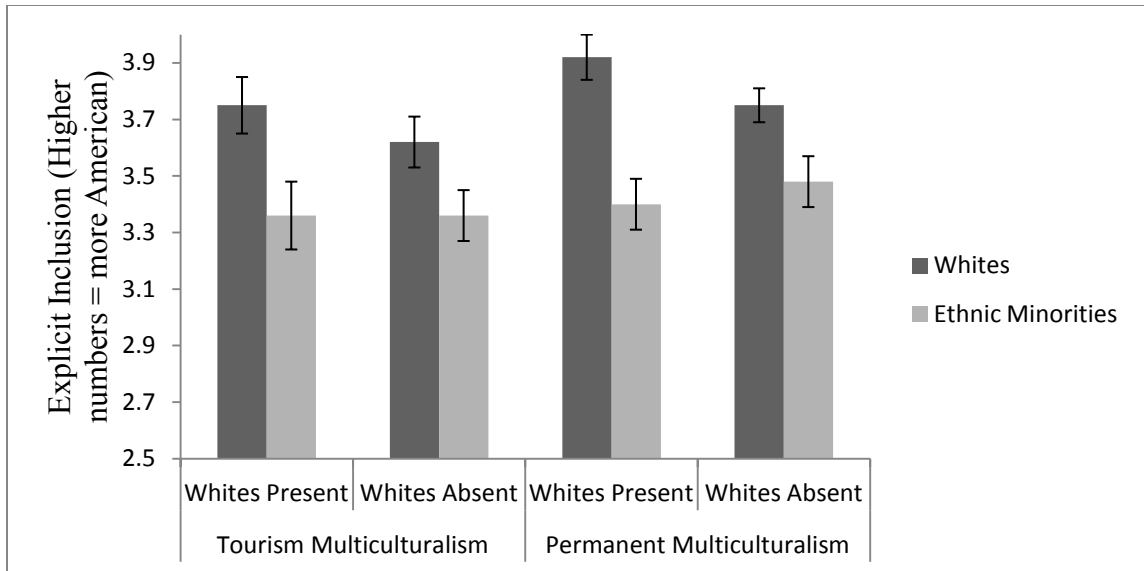


Figure 8a. Explicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group. Participants always saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities; this difference was especially large when Whites were present compared to when Whites were absent.

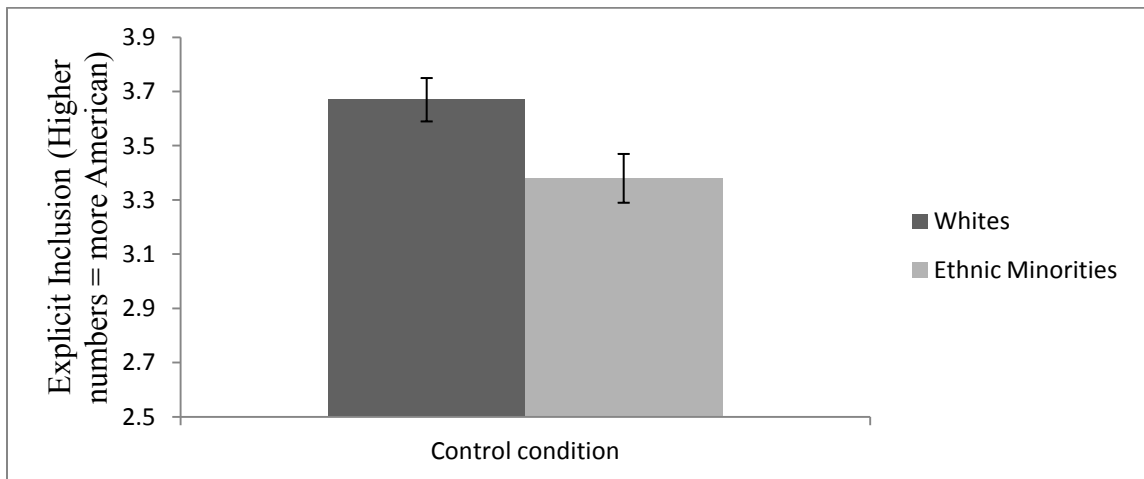


Figure 8b. Explicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group in the control condition. Participants in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were Present saw Whites as being significantly more American than participants in the control condition.

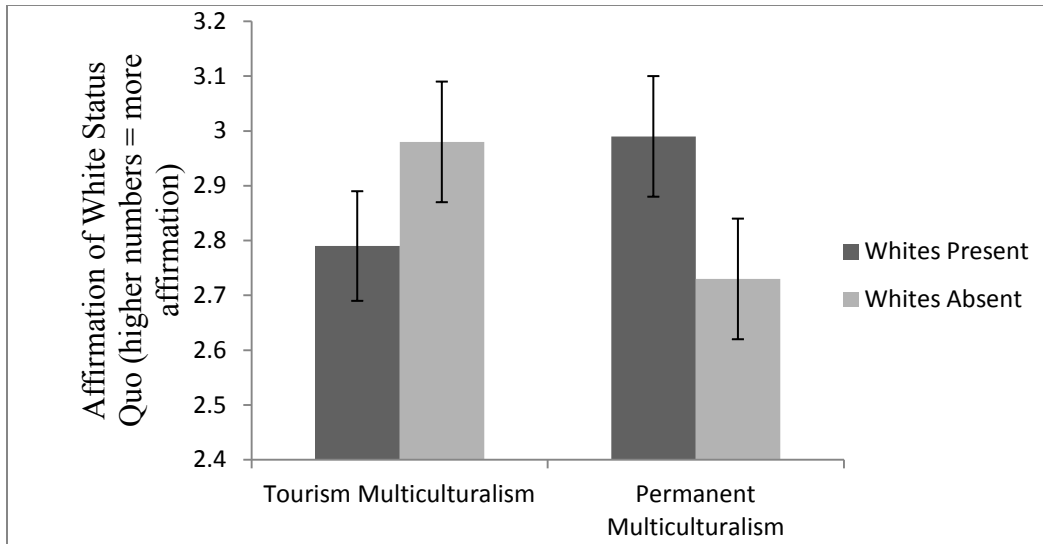


Figure 9a. Affirmation of White Status Quo. Participants affirmed the status quo significantly more strongly in Permanent Multiculturalism when Whites were present compared to when Whites were absent. In Tourism Multiculturalism, affirmation of status quo did not significantly differ by the Role of Whites.

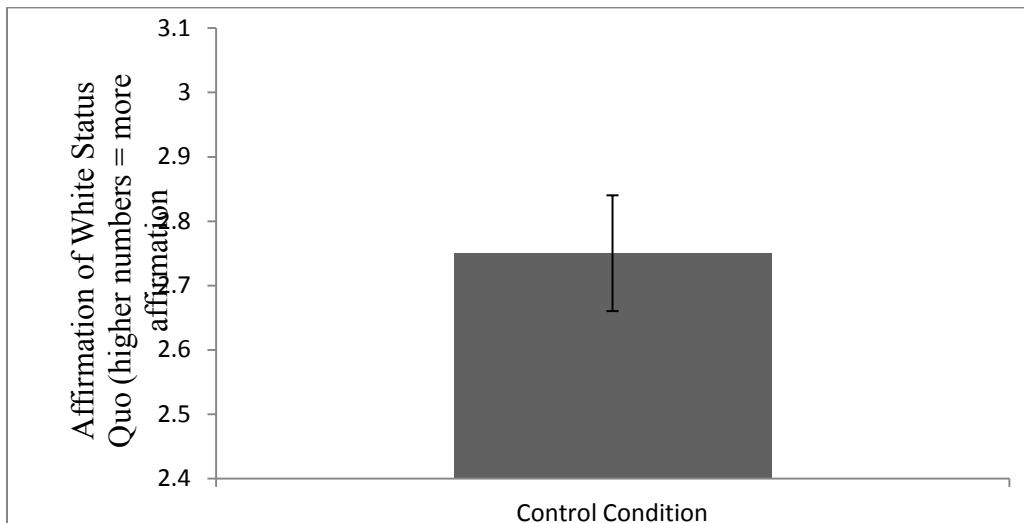


Figure 9b. Affirmation of White Status Quo in the control condition. Participants in Permanent multiculturalism when White were Present showed a trend towards affirming the status quo more than participants in the control condition. Participants in Tourism Multiculturalism when Whites were Absent were showed a similar nonsignificant trend toward affirming the status quo more compared to the control

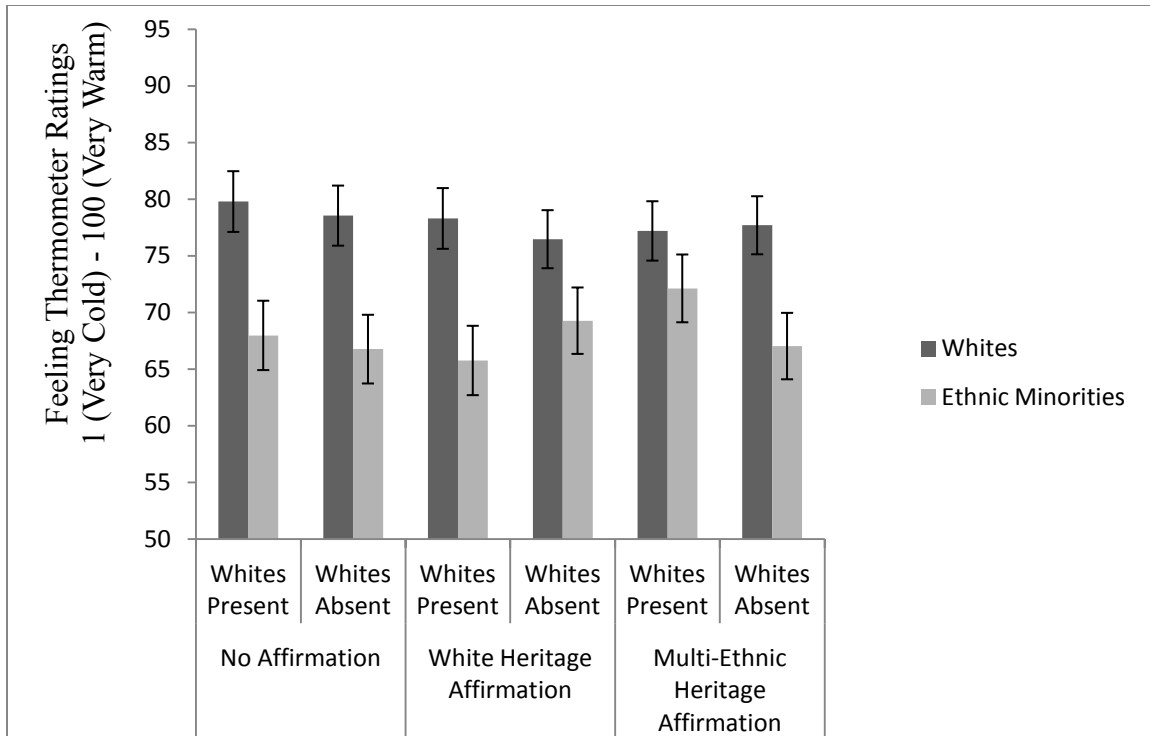


Figure 10. Feeling Thermometer Ratings of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always preferred Whites over ethnic minorities. Furthermore, when Whites were Present in multiculturalism, the magnitude of this difference was larger in the White Heritage Affirmation condition compared to the Multi-Ethnic Heritage Affirmation.



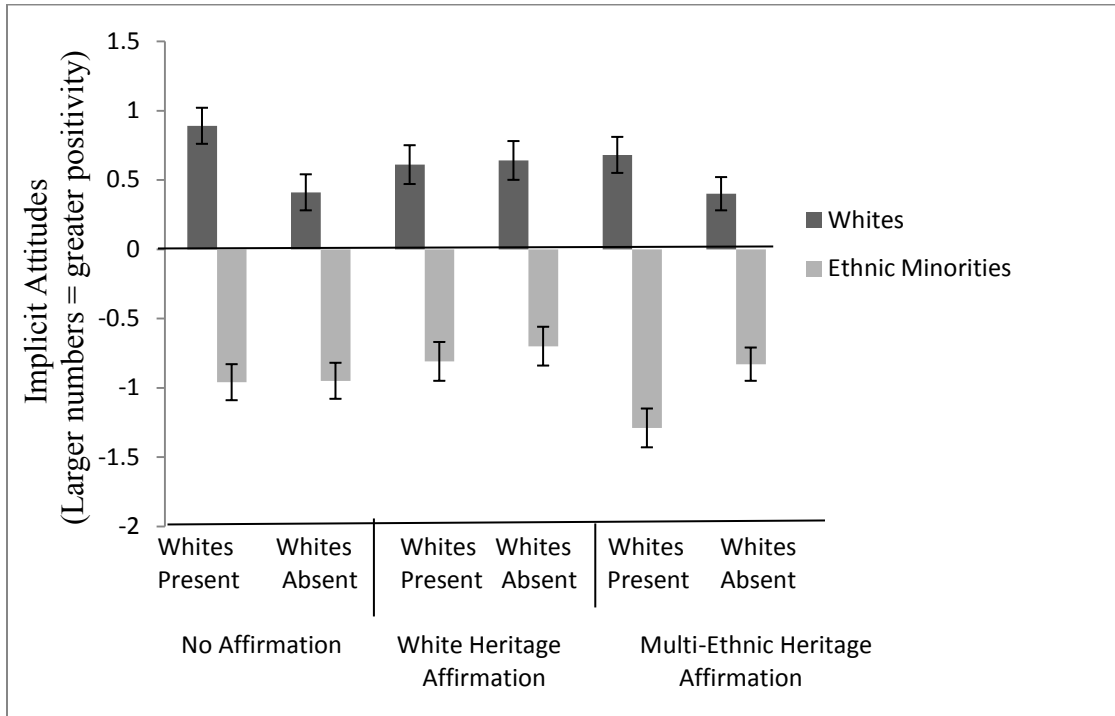


Figure 11. Implicit Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always liked Whites more than ethnic minorities, but this difference was especially large when Whites were Present compared to when Whites were Absent regardless of the Affirmation they read.

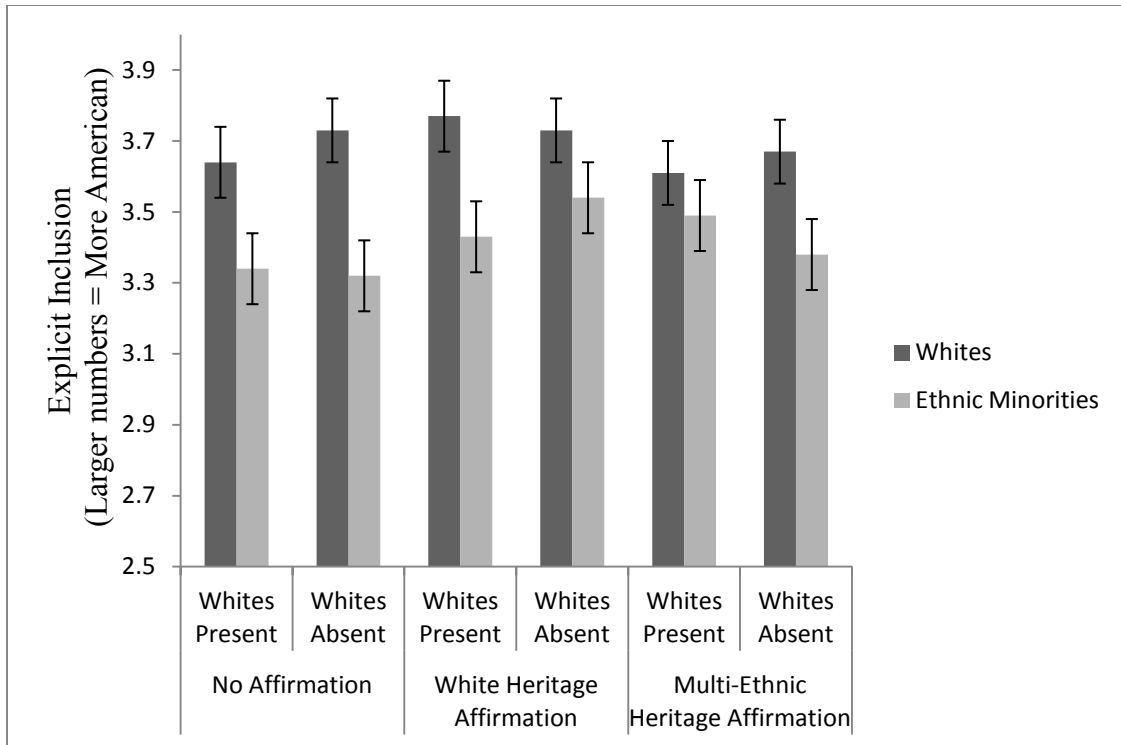


Figure 12. Explicit Inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites in the national group. Participants always saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities regardless of the Role of Whites and the Type of Affirmation.

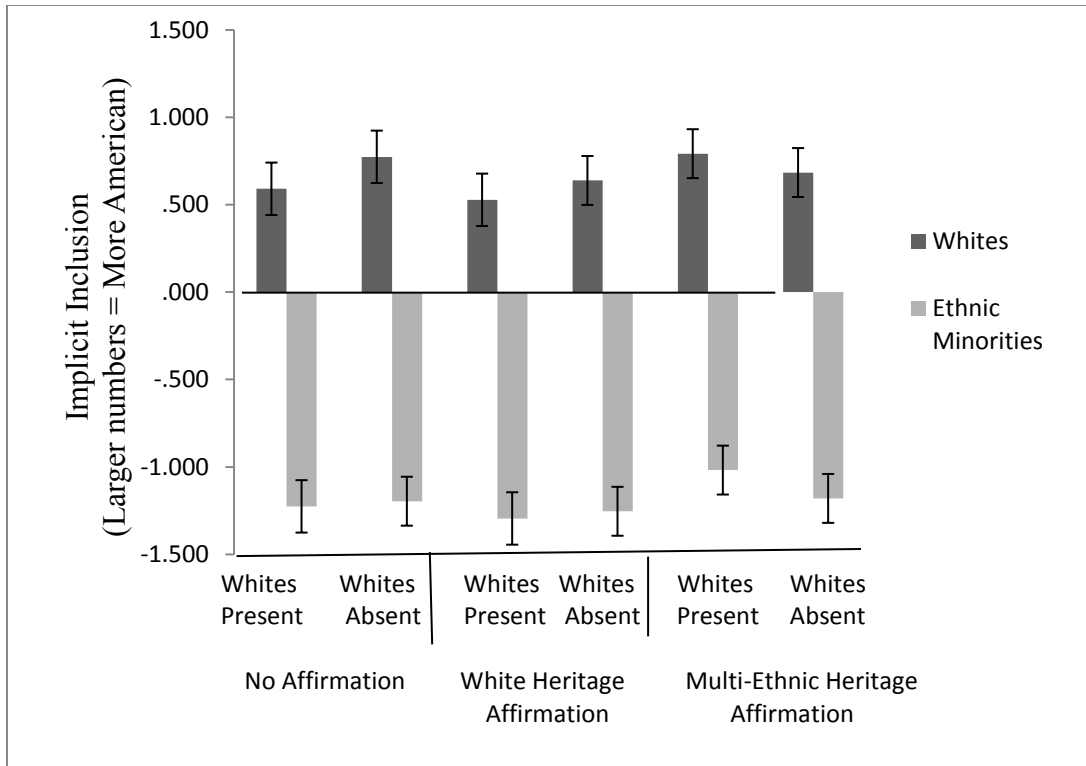


Figure 13. Implicit inclusion of ethnic minorities and Whites. Participants always saw Whites as more American than ethnic minorities regardless of the Role of Whites and the Type of Affirmation.

## APPENDIX A

### Explicit Attitudes items

#### Feeling thermometer

*Imagine a thermometer ranging from 1 (very cold feelings) to 100 (very warm feelings). Using this thermometer scale, please select a number that reflects your feelings toward each of the following groups...*

1. When you think of *ethnic minority Americans* in general, how cold or warm are your feelings towards them?
2. When you think of *White Americans* in general, how cold or warm are your feelings towards them?
3. When you think of *African Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards them?
4. When you think of *German Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
5. When you think of *Asian Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
6. When you think of *English Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
7. When you think of *Hispanic Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
8. When you think of *Irish Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
9. When you think of *Native Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?
10. When you think of *Italian Americans*, how cold or warm are your feelings towards that group?

#### Attitudes toward Ethnic Minorities

*Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).*

1. I would rather not have racial or ethnic minorities live in the same apartment building that I live in.
2. I would not mind at all if a racial or ethnic minority family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.
3. It would not bother me if my new roommate was a racial or ethnic minority.
4. If a racial or ethnic minority person were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
5. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a person of another race than me in a public place.
6. Many racial or ethnic minorities don't seem interested in becoming friends with individuals outside of their ethnic group.
7. Racial or ethnic minorities are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.
8. It seems to me that racial or ethnic minorities are unwilling to assimilate into American culture.
9. Generally, racial or ethnic minorities are not as smart as whites.
10. Some racial or ethnic minorities are overly proud of their culture.
11. It is likely that racial or ethnic minorities bring drugs and violence to neighborhoods when they move in.

12. Some racial or ethnic minorities are so touchy about their ethnicity that it is difficult to get along with them.
13. I would feel uncomfortable being the only non-minority in a room full of racial or ethnic minorities
14. From my experiences with racial or ethnic minorities, I find that they uphold the stereotypes for the most part.
15. Racial or ethnic minorities are very hardworking.
16. It bothers me when racial or ethnic minorities insist on speaking their own language in public.
17. Too much tax money is going toward unnecessary funding for ethnic minority cultural events.
18. It seems to me that racial or ethnic minorities usually prefer to interact with members of their own group than with people from other groups.

## APPENDIX B

### GNAT stimuli

#### *White American faces*



#### *Ethnic Minority faces*



#### *American Symbols*



#### *Foreign Symbols:*



#### **Implicit Attitudes Toward Ethnic Minorities GNAT stimuli**

*Positive Words:* Beauty, Gift, Joy, Paradise, Laugh, Good

*Negative Words:* Filth, Vomit, Ugly, War, Poison, Bad

## APPENDIX C

### Explicit Inclusion items

*Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much).*

1. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) belong in the U.S.?
2. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) identify with the U.S.?
3. Are ethnic minorities (Whites) patriotic to the U.S.?
4. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) love the U.S.?
5. Are ethnic minorities (Whites) loyal to the U.S.?
6. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) respect America's political institutions and laws?
7. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) defend the U.S. when criticized?
8. Do ethnic minorities (Whites) work for America's best interests?

## APPENDIX D

### Exploratory variables

*Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).*

1. I enjoy learning about other ethnicities and cultures.
2. I like to attend cultural festivals and celebrations.
3. I enjoy the diversity of the U.S.
4. I appreciate being able to go to restaurants that serve ethnic food.
5. I like meeting people who speak more than one language.
6. I enjoy having a diverse country.
7. Multiculturalism is something I can choose to participate in.
8. Multiculturalism is something that is being forced on me.
9. I feel free to participate in other cultures if I want to.
10. I feel that other cultures are forcing me to notice them.
11. Diversity is just naturally a part of my everyday life.
12. I don't experience diversity in my everyday life.
13. Multiculturalism is something that people can go and experience when they want to.
14. Multiculturalism is permanently integrated into American life.
15. I believe it is possible for the United States to be multicultural.
16. Multiculturalism is unrealistic.



## APPENDIX E

### Study 1 manipulation check

*Think back to the reading that you completed at the beginning of the study. Based on what the reading said about the United States, please answer what you believe multiculturalism is all about.*

1. Multiculturalism should be an everyday experience.
2. Multiculturalism should be part of the fabric of mainstream American life.
3. Multiculturalism is experienced on specific special occasions.
4. Multiculturalism is about experiencing multiethnic foods and festivals.
5. Multiculturalism is something I can take part in.
6. Multiculturalism is something for ethnic minorities only.

## APPENDIX F

### MEIM

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be \_\_\_\_\_

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree    (3) Agree    (2) Disagree    (1) Strongly disagree

- 1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
- 2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
- 3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
- 4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
- 5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
- 6- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
- 7- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
- 8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
- 9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
- 10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
- 11- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
- 12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
- 13- My ethnicity is
  - (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
  - (2) Black or African American
  - (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
  - (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
  - (5) American Indian/Native American
  - (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
  - (7) Other (write in): \_\_\_\_\_
- 14- My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)
- 15- My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

## APPENDIX G

### Demographics

1. How old are you?
2. What is your sex? (Male, Female, Decline to answer)
3. What is your race? (White/Caucasian, Black, Hispanic, East Asian or Pacific Islander, South Asian, Other or multiracial (please specify))
4. What is your citizenship (U.S. Citizen, Permanent Resident, Foreign Student Visa)
5. What is your mother's highest level of education? (High School, Some college but no degree, Associate's degree, Bachelor's degree, Graduate degree, Unsure)
6. What is your father's highest level of education? (High School, Some college but no degree, Associate's degree, Bachelor's degree, Graduate degree, Unsure)
7. Please indicate on the following scale where your political beliefs fall (strong conservative, conservative, neither conservative nor liberal, liberal, strong liberal)
8. Please indicate on the following scale where your political beliefs fall (Strong Republican, Republican, Neither Republican nor Democrat, Democrat, Strong Democrat)

## APPENDIX H

### Affirmation of Status Quo

*Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).*

1. The core of American culture comes from our European ancestors who founded the nation
2. The customs and traditions of our founding fathers are an essential part of American culture.
3. The United States is special because of our Protestant work ethic that other people don't have.
4. The quintessential symbols that represent our country are the Mayflower, Plymouth Rock, and the first Thanksgiving.
5. America is special because the values from our founding days still guide the nation.
6. When I think of classic American cultural holidays I think of Christmas and Thanksgiving.

## APPENDIX I

### Affect items

*Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much so).*

1. Right now, I feel worried
2. Right now, I feel apprehensive
3. Right now, I feel concerned
4. Right now, I feel cautious
5. Right now, I feel calm
6. Right now, I feel comfortable
7. Right now, I feel relaxed

## APPENDIX J

### Immigration policies

Below are summaries of several propositions that local and national politicians are considering adding to the ballots of upcoming elections. Using the scale provided indicate how likely YOU are to vote in favor of or against the proposed legislation. (Scale 1 = would definitely vote against; 5 = would definitely vote for).

1. Proposition 2722 – “Border Security Act”. The aim of this legislation is to increase border security by building fences and increasing naval and ground patrols along U.S. borders.
2. Proposition 6278 - “Boosting Innovation Act.” In order to entice professionals from around the world and boost innovation, this act would grant permanent residency and potentially automatic citizenship to immigrants who enter the country to study mathematics, engineering or the sciences upon receipt of their professional degrees.
3. Proposition 2545 - “Education Act.” The aim of this legislation is to ensure that primary schools, secondary schools and colleges/universities do not refuse education to individuals based on their immigration status. This act would provide education regardless of an individual’s immigration status.
4. Proposition 5493 - “Immigrant Documentation Act” - The aim of this state legislation is to prevent illegal immigration by requiring that all immigrants carry immigration documentation with them and giving police the power to detain anyone suspected of being in the country illegally.
5. Proposition 2546 – “Education Documentation Act” – The aim of this state legislation is to prevent illegal immigrants from enrolling in primary schools, secondary schools or colleges/universities by requiring that documentation of legal status is presented upon enrollment.
6. Proposition 9873 – “Dream Act” – The aim of this legislation is to offer illegal immigrants who fulfill certain requirements (e.g., serving in the military, completing a college degree, etc.) a path to citizenship by providing them the ability to apply for legal status in the U.S.

## APPENDIX K

### Study 2 Manipulation Check

*For this next set of questions, think back to the reading you read at the very beginning of this study. You should answer the following questions according to the READING, NOT according to your personal beliefs. To what extent did YOUR READING say the following things?*

*(Please rate the following items on a scale of 1 (Not at all) – 5 (Extremely))*

1. Multiple cultures (including our own) should be permanently integrated into American life.
2. In American life multiculturalism gives us the freedom to visit various cultural events and activities other than our own, and always have the option to return home to our own cultural context
3. One way we can make languages from other cultures a permanent part of American life is by making books of multiple languages available in public libraries.
4. To make languages from different cultures a temporary part of our lives, we can learn common phrases in languages spoken by ethnic groups in the U.S. while keeping English as the primary language.
5. Multiculturalism includes everyone in the U.S. regardless of what ethnic and religious events they celebrate or what language they speak.
6. The reason we have multiculturalism in American is to include ethnic minorities in our culture.

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